



M. F. de Guiche sculp.

Mr Henry Dodwell
obyt Jun: 7. A.D. 1755. Eta: 70.

THE
WORKS
Of the LEARNED
Mr. HENRY DODWELL
ABRIDG'D: *K*
WITH AN
ACCOUNT of his LIFE.

By FRANCIS BROKESBY, B.D.

To which is added,
An ABSTRACT of Mr. DODWELL'S
Book *DE CYCLIS*;
By EDM. HALLEY, LL. D.
Astron. Reg. Geom. Prof. Savil. & R.S.S.

THE SECOND EDITION.

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AND
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TO
ROBERT NELSON, Esq;

Honoured Sir,

I WAS not long in determining whether I should make any Dedication of this Performance, in that I am sensible, from its Defects, that it needs a Patron; nor long in the Choice of one, in that I presume that less candid Readers will not be altogether so censorious when they see it dedicated to you, and hence will judge it not displeasing to you, whose Judgment the World has just Reason to value. I am assured the Subject will be acceptable to you, from that Esteem you

Epistle Dedicatory.

had for Mr. *Dodwell*, and for his learned and useful Labours: But whether my Handling thereof will be so, the Reader may justly question, when the Merits of that great Person challenge a fairer Representation: However, may question my Prudence in choosing one to patronize my mean Performance, which falls so very short of his in the excellent Life of Bishop *Bull*: A Life, wherein the Controversies betwixt that Prelate and his Adversaries are set in so clear a Light; where just and lively Characters are given us of many learned Men; and where the great Vertues of that eminent Bishop, which he exerted in the several Stages of his Life, and Stations in the Church, are so advantageously represented; together with useful Inferences thence deduced, and seasonable Admonitions therewith intermix'd, with a Charitable Concern for the Happiness of Mankind, and a pious Endeavour to promote it; and all delivered with so much Sweetness and Elegancy, together with an Air of true Christian Piety and Charity, that the Reader finds him.

Epistle Dedicatory.

himself insensibly charmed with the Love of so amiable a Prospect, and inspired with a holy Emulation, and ardent Desire, to imitate such an admirable Pattern. Had Mr. *Dodwell's* Life been to have been written after Bishop *Bull's* had been published, 'tis probable I might have strove to write after so fair a Copy, to follow you, though at a great Distance; but it would have been Arrogance in me to imagine that I could have come near you. Notwithstanding all this, the Experience I have had of your great Humanity and Candour, and your being not displeased with this Performance when shewn to you before this Publication, makes me not despair of your Acceptance, and even Patronage of it, when it appears thus publicly. This I am encouraged to hope for, in that my Undertaking is well designed; and if not answering the Reader's Expectation, that the Defects will admit of an Excuse in an Author in the Seventy seventh Year of his Age, at least from yourself: In that I here endeavour to give the World the Life of one, who,

Epistle Dedicatory.

as he was eminently Learned, was also eminently Vertuous; and hereby present the Reader (though not with that Advantage as might be desired) with an Exemplar and Mirror of singular Piety. Now, Sir, seeing the Promoting of this has been your Aim in your excellent Treatises, which, from the universal Approbation they have met with, we may hope have been, and will be, efficacious to that End; I may safely presume you will not be displeased with this Work, wherein the same End is designed, nor with its Dedication. A farther Reason of which last is to make a grateful Acknowledgment of your Favours, and tell the World that I am one of those, whom your extensive Benevolence has reached. This, though it can add nothing to your Lustre which is so conspicuous, will help to free me from the Charge of Ingratitude. But the only true Return that lies in my Power to make you, are my Prayers to the Fountain of Mercies, to grant you long Life and Health, that you may continue to be beneficial to the World, and
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45. *The Case in View now in Fact.*
46. *In Julii Vitalis Epitaphium Notæ: Et in Memonii, &c. Inscript.*
47. *De ætate & Patria Dionysii Periegetæ.*

What follows were publish'd after his Death.

De Parmâ Woodwardianâ Dissertatio.

Letters that pass'd betwixt the Bishop of Sarum and Mr. Dodwell.

There's Mention of a Letter concerning Mr. Whiston's Heretical Opinion: But this I never saw.

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INTRO-



Introduction.



OF all sorts of *History*, that of the *Lives* of singularly eminent Persons hath been always much esteemed, as being not only *delightful*, but *instructive*. How much the *Lives* of *Statesmen*, *Soldiers*, and the like, are useful to Men of those like Professions, I shall have no need to observe. What Advantage such as are acquiring Learning may have, from reading the *Lives* of *Learned* Persons; the several *Steps* they made in the Pursuit thereof; the *Methods* they observed; the *Helps* and *Assistances* they found, and made use of in their Progress; the *Intercourse* they maintained with other Learned Persons; the *Difficulties* they vanquished; and then the *Improvement* and *Use* they made of their Learning, when they had acquired it, to the *Benefit* of Mankind; this is too evident to be insisted on. No less Advantage is there to all *good Christians*, in reading the *Lives* of Persons eminent for their strict *Piety* and *Christian Graces*. For besides the *Directions* and *Cautions* they may thereby collect, which may help them to steer their own *Lives*; they find singular *Incitements* to Holiness, when they observe the Loveliness of such *Patterns*, and the *Charms* of a regular, upright Conversation. When they see a Person that hath not been swayed, by the Temptations

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ptations of *Riches* or *Honour* ; nor caught by the Baits of *Pleasures* ; nor influenced by the *Examples* or *Persuasions* of others, to make shipwreck of a good Conscience ; nor *discouraged* or *af-frighted* at the Prospect of *Miseries* he was to conflict with in maintaining his Integrity ; but continued stedfast in the Discharge of his Duty ; and this from *Reliance* on the Favour and Assistance of *GOD* here, and a firm Expectation of an eternal Recompence of Reward hereafter ; and all this, in an *Age* of Wickedness and Infidelity : Such a delightful *View* attracts the Eyes and Hearts of Pious Persons, and creates a Holy *Emulation*, to imitate such a lovely Exemplar. But when both great *Learning* and great *Piety* are eminently conjoined in the same Person, where singular *natural* Abilities were improved to a great Degree, by unwearied *Diligence* and *Industry*, and these Improvements employed to the *Benefit* of Mankind, especially to promote the Interest of *Religion* ; and all this from truly *Christian Principles*, whereby, as he is not elated with his own Accomplishments or Performances, so in all other respects he acts *uniformly*, by his exact *Sobriety* in governing his own natural Appetites and Affections, by his *just* and *charitable* Demeanour towards Men, by his strict, yet unaffected *Piety*, in the Discharge of Religious Duties ; when by his *useful Labours*, and by his bright *Example*, he becomes a *burning and shining Light*, while he converses with Men, and, after his Death, when his *Works*, and the Memory of his Exemplary Conversation, *survive* him : All must own the *Amiableness* of such a Prospect,

spect, and wish that it might be advantageously represented to the present Age, and transmitted to Posterity.

BUT such a Work is not every one's Province; it being requisite, that he who represents the Excellencies and Ornaments of any Great Person, should have a considerable Share thereof himself, or else his Representation will be mean and slender, will detract from the Honour and Lustre of him whose Worth he undertook to display, and neither afford that Pleasure, nor Benefit to the Reader, which he might justly have expected. Tho', possibly, in delivering the Moral Excellencies of such a Person, a plain Narrative may but suit with his Native Plainness and Primitive Simplicity; which, notwithstanding, ought to be placed in such a Light, as to render them conspicuous and amiable: Yet, when he speaks of such a one's great Learning, the Methods whereby he attained to it, and his Works that were the Products of it; he ought to have a considerable Acquaintance therewith himself, lest he disappoint his Reader's Hopes, and deprive him of the Advantage he reasonably expected.

SEEING I am conscious to myself, how vastly short I come of the Accomplishments and Attainments of Mr. *Dodwell*, the Reader may justly wonder that I should dare to undertake this Province, and hereby to expose myself, and by my defective Management disparage the singular Endowments of this Great Person. I thank God, I am far from the Vanity of *Arrian*, who, in his History of *Alexander the Great*, tells, how that great Conqueror, when he visited *Achilles's*

Tomb, thought him happy in that he had a *Hom-mer* to be his (*κήρυκα*) Herald: But withall adds, how unhappy *Alexander* had been till his own time, having had no Writer fit to declare his Exploits: And then tells us, that he on this Reason undertook it, in that he judged himself fit to write the Actions of that Great Monarch. Which Judgment, tho' he gives us his Reasons for it, ill became a Disciple of *Epietetus*, an Admirer of that Great Philosopher, and a Collector and Communicator of his Precepts to the World; (a).

ALL that knew Mr. *Dodwell*, that have heard of his Worth, and are acquainted with his Writings, must own, that his Life deserves to be written, and transmitted to Posterity, and therein propounded as a great Pattern of indefatigable Industry, crowned with such great Success in his suitable Acquisitions, and his Employing these so much to the benefiting of others; besides his singular Humility, Charity, Piety, and Christian Graces, which rendered him so highly Exemplary, in order to excite others to imitate them. And not only for that Reason, but also because 'tis due as an Expression of Honour to one whose Works have raised so great a Value for him, both in our Nation, and among Foreigners: And that it will be expected as a Debt from some who were acquainted with him, and were obliged by Kindnesses received from him, to attempt the Raising of a Monument to his Memory. Such Obliga-

(a) *This Mr. Dodwell judged to be the same with the Historian.* 1 Vol. Min. Geogr. Diff. iv. §. 3. D. v. 6.

tions I must ever acknowledge, and retain a grateful Sense of: Particularly, the Assistance he gave me in my *History of the Government of the Primitive Church*, to whom I resorted when I met with any Difficulties, who, as he was able, from his great Skill in the Antiquities of the Church, so I always found him willing to resolve them. This, and other Favours, together with my Sense of his great Worth, oblige me to retain an Honour for his Memory, and to do what lies in my Power to perpetuate it. For which Reasons, the World will have the less Cause to wonder at my undertaking it, how unfit soever for such a Province. If any abler Hand, justly judging this Performance too mean for so great a Person, shall think fit to raise a fairer Monument to Mr. *Dodwell's* Memory, these Memoirs may serve as some Materials for such a Structure, and thereby, if they deserve no Esteem, yet will find Excuse from the candid Reader. Tho', when all is said or written of him, his own elaborate Works will be the most lasting Monuments of his vast extensive Learning; and his singular Piety, Zeal for Religion, Bounty, and other Christian Vertues, will be the best Preservative of the Memory of what was most valuable in him, at least in the Hearts of such who were influenced or benefited by 'em.

THAT which I shall present the Reader with, shall be either from my *own* Observations in the five last Years of his Life, wherein I enjoyed the Privilege of his improving Conversation; or, from what I received from *himself*, when he recounted the Passages of his Life in the several Stages of it, and the Expressions of God's gra-

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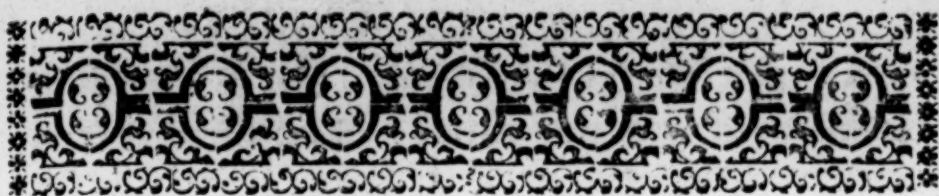
(a) *This Mr. Dodwell judged to be the same with the Historian.* 1 Vol. Min. Geogr. Diff. iv. §. 3. D. v. 6.

tions I must ever acknowledge, and retain a grateful Sense of: Particularly, the Assistance he gave me in my *History of the Government of the Primitive Church*, to whom I resorted when I met with any Difficulties, who, as he was able, from his great Skill in the Antiquities of the Church, so I always found him willing to resolve them. This, and other Favours, together with my Sense of his great Worth, oblige me to retain an Honour for his Memory, and to do what lies in my Power to perpetuate it. For which Reasons, the World will have the less Cause to wonder at my undertaking it, how unfit soever for such a Province. If any abler Hand, justly judging this Performance too mean for so great a Person, shall think fit to raise a fairer Monument to Mr. *Dodwell's* Memory, these Memoirs may serve as some Materials for such a Structure, and thereby, if they deserve no Esteem, yet will find Excuse from the candid Reader. Tho', when all is said or written of him, his own elaborate Works will be the most lasting Monuments of his vast extensive Learning; and his singular Piety, Zeal for Religion, Bounty, and other Christian Vertues, will be the best Preservative of the Memory of what was most valuable in him, at least in the Hearts of such who were influenced or benefited by 'em.

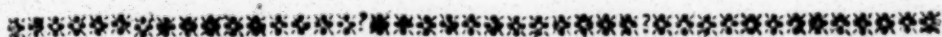
THAT which I shall present the Reader with, shall be either from my *own* Observations in the five last Years of his Life, wherein I enjoyed the Privilege of his improving Conversation; or, from what I received from *himself*, when he recounted the Passages of his Life in the several Stages of it, and the Expressions of God's gra-

cious Providences towards him, (his Acknowledgment whereof I shall have occasion, in their proper Places, to mention;) or, what I received from his dear Relations, and intimate Friends; or, what I gathered from his own Papers, the Letters sent to him, or his Answers to 'em, or his own Works: Of which I give the Reader here an Abstract.

I must conclude this with the Words of a Reverend Person, and Mr. *Dodwell's* worthy Friend, who, of late, managed his Affairs for him in *Ireland*: "I wish the best Pen in the
 " World would write his Life; in which, if
 " Right were done him, (whose Learning exceeded
 " all others, as his Piety also exceeded his own
 " Learning) I question whether his Superior, or,
 " perhaps, his Equal for Christianity, could now
 " be found living upon Earth." Consequently, his great Worth needs and demands a more skilful Pen than mine, to display his Merits, and to make his lovely Example still more amiable. This, indeed, argues me guilty of Presumption in undertaking it, did not what I have already offered lessen my Fault: But yet withall, it will serve as a Curtain, to cover my Defects, (that will easily be discerned) considering the Difficulties of the Work, and the great Skill requisite in such an Undertaking. If the Account of what this Learned Man hath written, help to improve any in useful Knowledge; and much more, if the Representation of his great Vertues (tho both imperfectly done) tend to excite others to imitate them, I shall obtain my End. The Lord make them effectual to these Purposes! 30 FEB 60



T H E
L I F E
O F
M^R. D O D W E L L.



C H A P. I.
Of his Family and Ancestors.



S for his *Progenitors*, though on Search it would be easy to rise higher, especially on his Mother's Side, I shall look back no farther than his *Grandfathers*, they being the *first* of their Families, that, going from hence, fixed their Station in *Ireland*. For, tho' he was born in *Ireland*, yet by *both Parents* he was of *English* Extraction. His Grandfather *Dodwell* was a *Clergy-man*, and this he esteemed as his *Honour*: And indeed at all Times he was ready to express the great Veneration he

8 *Of his Family and Ancestors.*

had for that sacred Profession. His Father *William Dodwell* was the eldest: The third, *Henry*, Doctor of Divinity, we shall have afterwards Occasion to mention to his Honour in this Narrative. His *Uncle* served at the Altar, but his *Father* took to a *Military* Life, and was in an Office, then known by the Name of *Corporal* of the Field, (possibly not now in use) which he said was equal to that of a *Captain* of Horse. His Mother was Daughter to *Sir Francis Slingsby*, who was Uncle to that *Sir Henry Slingsby* who was put to Death by *Cromwell*, (together with *Dr. Hewet*) for his Loyalty. What considerable Service *Sir Francis Slingsby* did in *Munster*, under *Sir George Carew* President of that Province, who in the three last Years of *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign, reduced it to Subjection, is evident from *T. Stafford's Pacata Hibernia*. He tells us how this *Sir Francis*, then only *Captain Slingsby*, (b) was Commander of the Garrison of *Kilmallock*; (c) made some prosperous Excursions; (d) did Service in the winning of *Glyn Castle*; and (e) in defeating *James Fitz-Thomas* Titular Earl of *Desmond*, and his Forces: (f) How he commanded 500 Foot, and therewith brought the *Burkes* and *Briens* into Subjection: (g) How the Titular Earl of *Desmond*, when taken, was committed to his Charge, and what free *Discourse* this Rebel had with him, while he watchfully attended him all Night: (h) How he was employed to go to *Kinsale*, to view the Forces of the *Spaniards* when they possessed

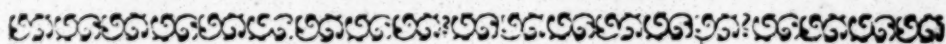
(b) *Pag.* 31. (c) *p.* 33. (d) *p.* 64. (f) *p.* 106. (g) *p.* 137. (h) *p.* 195.

that Place, and the *Skirmish* he had with a Party of them. Omitting other Pieces of Service, I shall mention one, because therein his Skill in *Sea Affairs*, as well as great *Courage* and *Conduct*, appeared; and that was in the great Assistance he gave to the Taking that important Fort, the Castle of *Dunboy*, which both Friends and Enemies thought an insuperable Undertaking. There was no Way to bring *Cannon* to any Place that was fit to encamp in, in order to batter the Castle, but by *Water*, and this close by the Castle. ‘ But
 ‘ (i) Captain *Slingsby* (whom, saith the Historian, I cannot too much commend) in a *Hoy* with
 ‘ the Cannon, pass’d the Point underneath the Castle, within one hundred Foot of the same,
 ‘ from whence their great Shot was made at the
 ‘ *Hoy*, but all without Harm; for his Muskets
 ‘ so ply’d the Artillery, that the Gunners durst
 ‘ scarcely stand by the same. So the Cannon
 ‘ were safely landed.’ Afterwards, when the great Ordnance could not possibly be drawn to the Place where they were encamped, and therefore of Necessity were to pass by Water into a convenient Creek; and no Boat could carry them, which otherwise might have been done by Night, but none durst adventure to carry them in the *Hoy* by Night: ‘ In this Difficulty Captain *Slings-*
 ‘ *by* did desire the President to commit this to his
 ‘ Charge, and give him but 30 Shot, and he
 ‘ would (by God’s Grace) carry that Ordnance
 ‘ by *Day-light* into that Creek, or sink by the
 ‘ Way. This was accepted, and perform’d with-

‘out the Loss of any Man, tho’ many Shot were made from the Castle.’ The Manner of which the curious Reader may there find ; as also how on him (who is there styled a discreet and dexterous Gentleman) the Care was laid of *intrenching*, in order to make their Approaches to the Castle, and how diligently he managed it, notwithstanding the Distance of the Wood, from whence they fetched Wattles to make *Gabions*. I might instance in other Pieces of Service performed by him : But the Reader will possibly imagine that I have already too much digressed from my first Undertaking. This Gentleman I have been the longer upon, because he delighted to converse with this his *Grandchild* when very young, as observing, no doubt, somewhat in him, which afforded great Hopes of his becoming an extraordinary Person ; from whence Mr. *Dodwell* retained a fresh Remembrance of him, as he has some time told me. I shall only add here, that Sir *Francis Slingsby* had another Daughter that was married to Sir *Francis Willoughby*, who was one of the Privy-Council in *Ireland* when the dreadful Rebellion broke out. And withall, that Sir *Francis Slingsby*, and Sir *Charles Coot*, (if I mistake not, Father to that Sir *Charles Coot* who did such signal Service against the *Irish* Rebels) married two Sisters whose Names were *Cuff*, Persons of an ancient Family, and considerable Fortunes.

THESE Things I have taken Notice of, to shew that Mr. *Dodwell* was of a considerable Descent and Alliance, to prevent the despicable Thoughts that some are ready to entertain of
highly

highly deserving Persons, by reason of their mean Birth and Extraction, notwithstanding their Personal Worth, great Accomplishments, and their becoming singularly serviceable and beneficial to the World, and hereby meriting justly suitable Honour and Esteem. Yet even this cannot, as appears from what I have here collected, be any Reason for such Judges to entertain contemptible Thoughts of Mr. *Dodwell*; tho' 'tis chiefly his own Merits that will, in the Judgment of good, wise, and learned Men, render him truly honourable, both in this and future Generations. For (as an excellent Person well (*k*) observes) ' let a ' Family be never so conspicuous, the Learning ' and Piety of any Branch of it, addeth more ' to its Lustre and Glory, than it is capable of ' giving by any Blood it can convey.



CHAP. II.

His Birth and Childhood.

MR. Henry *Dodwell* was born at *Dublin* at the latter end of *October*, in the Year 1641. A Time exceedingly remarkable for that horrid *Butchery* made by the *Irish* Rebels, who destroyed such vast Numbers of *Protestants*, neither sparing Age nor Sex, nor Persons linked in the nearest Tyes to them. This *Massacre* began about a Week

(*k*) *Mr. Nelson in his Life of Bishop Bull*, §. 2.

before

before Mr. *Dodwell* was born, and was continued many Months after. But in the Midst of this dreadful *Judgment*, GOD remember'd and intermix'd *Mercy*, in that at this Time he gave Birth to this Person, who afterwards was so great an *Ornament* to that Nation, and a *Blessing* to that and other Countries. And here I must not pass over that grateful *Commemoration* I have heard him make, of GOD's special Goodness to himself, that when his *Parents* had several *Children* before that Time, born in Times of *Tranquillity*; that all these should die in their *Infancy*, and that he alone should live, tho' born in the Time of such *Miseries* and *Distractions*: That he should be born with sound *Limbs* and *Understanding*, when his *Mother* could not but be concerned at the Lamentations of Persons (who fled to *Dublin* as their Sanctuary) for the Death of their murder'd dear Relations, and their own Calamities; and from the *Danger* she was in, in the *Crowd* of these poor afflicted Creatures, (if I forget not) at one of the Gates of *Dublin*, when she was coming in thereat.

He was baptized *November 4th*. I have heard him say, that Sir *Thomas Rotheram*, who was at that Time one of the Privy-Council, was one of his Godfathers.

As for the Time of *Childhood*, there seldom happens any thing worth recording. Yet there is one thing in this Person, which he has told his Friends, and which I cannot omit. Being once tired with Play, and very sleepy, he was very desirous immediately to go to Bed, but his Mother would not permit him, till he had first said his *Prayers*,
not-

notwithstanding his Importunity. The Reflexion on this made then a deep Impression on his Mind: For he hence concluded, that Prayer was, at least in his Mother's Thoughts, of great Importance; when she, who had so endeared a Love for him her only Child, would not, notwithstanding his Weariness, and his earnest Desire, suffer him to neglect it: And therefore when of so great *Moment* and Concernment, he concluded that he ought to be careful not at any Time to neglect it. This I mention to convince Parents of what Influence *timely Admonitions* are upon the Minds of their Children, even in their *tender Age*, which is generally judged to be *inconsiderate*, and thence Men are ready to think that 'tis to no Purpose so early to cultivate it; when even then, frequently what is said to 'em sinks deep into their Minds; and makes such Impressions on them, as helps to frame their future Conversations in the Paths of Holiness.

IN the first Six Years of his Childhood, he with his Mother were confined within the City of *Dublin*, by reason of the dreadful Calamities which were then brought on their Native Country by the barbarous Rebels. Within which Walls, tho' they enjoyed Security, which other Parts of that Kingdom wanted, yet were deprived of all Advantage from their Estate in *Connaught*, which was possessed by the Rebels.

IN the Year 1648, his Parents, with himself, came for *England*, here to find some Succour among their Relations. They landed at *Bristol*, and from thence came to *London*, at which Place I have heard him say, he was, when Pious King
Charles

Charles I. was murder'd. From whence he, with his Parents, went to *York*, probably because in the Neighbourhood of his Kinsman *Sir Henry Slingsby*; where for five Years, or thereabouts, he went to School, having *Mr. Wallis* for his Master; under whom he laid the Foundation of his future great Accomplishments. And here, no doubt, he used the same unwearied *Diligence* and *Application* to his Business, as he did in his riper Years: When, in my reading to him some *Greek* Authors in Winter Evenings, it being then troublesome to him to read, thro' the Weakness of his Eyes, I could not but admire his great *critical* Skill in that Language, even in *Grammatical* Niceties; which, when I took Notice of, he told me, that he took Care to be accurate in learning his *Greek Grammar*, and to keep the Rules in his Memory; and this was afterwards of singular Advantage to him. Which is a Testimony of his *Industry*, and of his great *Prudence*, even in these his early Years.

HIS *Father* having thus placed him with his *Mother* at *York*, went for *Ireland* to look after his Estate. Here it pleased *GOD* to bereave him of his Life, he dying of the Plague at *Waterford*, and hereby his Wife and Son of that Relief and Succour which they might expect from him. And withall, this forced *Mr. Dodwell's* Mother to leave him, and go for *Ireland*, to do what lay in her Power to settle Affairs there. But she, not finding that Kindness which she expected from Relations who were in the best Capacity to assist her, and too much resenting the *Loss* of her Husband, and her forced *Distance* from her justly beloved Son,

Son, fell into a *Consumption*, of which she died in her Brother Sir Henry Slingsby's House.

WHEN this young Gentleman was deprived of Father and Mother, he came to be reduced to very great *Streights*, so that he was forced to use that *Paper* wherewith young Gentlemen had covered their Works, when thrown away by them as unfit for that Use, he having no other to write his Exercises on; and to make use of *Charcoal* when he wanted Pen and Ink, and had not wherewith to purchase them; and then, when he came to School, to borrow Pen and Ink of his School-fellows to fit his Exercises for his Master's Sight. The Persons with whom he tabled, knew not how they should be paid, and his *Diet* was accordingly. Tho' withall I have heard him own the *Providence* of Almighty God to himself herein; and that by the coarse Fare he then was forced to live upon, he the easilier accustomed himself to those eminent Fastings and Abstinences, by few imitated or equalled in this Age; of which more afterwards: As he was also brought to value his more prosperous Circumstances, when he came to enjoy them.

WHEN I asked him, how it came to pass, that his Kinsman Sir Henry Slingsby did not relieve him, when reduced to such mean Circumstances; he told me, that he was not wanting in his Kindness by giving him *old Cloaths*, and supplying him with some *Necessaries*, besides the *Respects* he shewed him in inviting him to his House at *Christmas*, and such Times of Vacation: But that worthy Gentleman, being under Sequestrations, was unable to do so much for him, as
might

might otherwise have been expected, and questionless would have been performed.

HE continued under these Discouragements till the Year 1654. Then God raised up a Friend to take Compassion on him, his worthy Uncle Mr. *Henry Dodwell*, afterwards Dr. *Dodwell*. This gracious *Providence* of GOD I have heard him more than once mention, with a grateful Sense of GOD's Goodness in the first place, and then of his *Uncle's* singular Kindness, whom God made an Instrument to relieve him, and extricate him out of his Streights.

THIS Uncle was Incumbent of *Hemley* and *Newbourn*, two Places near adjoining, in *Suffolk*. Whilst he was a Batchelor, he could do no more than make his Incomes answer his Expences. But having got a prudent Wife, who managed his Concerns with singular Discretion, his Circumstances were better'd. But as GOD blessed him in increasing his Estate, so he did in giving him a willing Mind to employ it in Works of Charity. Hence, he understanding the Difficulties with which this his hopeful *Nephew* conflicted, went to *Huntington*, and sent his Servant to *York*, carrying with him such *Sums* as would answer his Nephew's Necessities, wherewith he discharg'd his *Debts*, the chief of which was that for his *Tabling*, the Non-Payment of which, and the ill Treatment thereby occasion'd, for so long a Time, was to him frequently Matter of melancholy Reflexions. And having done this, his Uncle took him with him to his own Home, where he assisted, and much perfected him in those Studies which he had begun at School,
and

and treated him with singular Kindness; which he would often speak of, with a grateful Sense of his Uncle's Favours expressed to him. And here I cannot omit a Passage, which tho' to some Readers it may be laught at as trivial, yet it may please others, as it did myself, when told me by his worthy Consort. One Night, when in Bed, his Uncle heard him cry out bitterly, and make a sad Noise. Upon which he with all haste ran to his dear Nephew's Bed-side, and after he had awaked him, asked him how he did, and what was the Cause of that mournful Complaint that he made. After the young Man had recover'd himself from his Consternation, he told his Uncle, That he dream'd his Landlord *Hind* was come to fetch him back to *York*. The Thoughts of this could not but severely afflict him, when he there enjoyed so happy a Condition, and the more so, when changed from the Miseries he lately suffered; that now he should be deprived of those Comforts, and be again reduced to the miserable Treatment he had formerly met with. His Uncle, that the Thoughts of his Dream might no farther disturb him, and to convince him that it was not prophetic, took him in his Arms to his own Bed, there to pass the Remainder of the Night more satisfactorily.



CHAP. III.

His Admission into, and Progress in the College.



Henry Dodwell was admitted into Trinity-College in Dublin, Anno Domini 1656. His Tutor was Dr. John Stearn. What Esteem the Tutor had for his Pupil, as well as what Deference the Pupil paid his Tutor, will appear afterwards. How virtuously and studiously he all along demeaned himself in the College, is evident from the Testimony of one there, who was his Contemporary, tho' his Junior. ' In Dublin College, from his first Entrance, he was known by all, to have been ' the eminentest Example for Studiousness, Piety, ' and all Vertues, which that University ever ' had: He lived in bare Frugality, and gave the ' rest of his whole Estate in Charity to the Needy, ' and in Liberality to his Relations.

How exceeding *industrious* at that Time he was, and careful to improve himself in *Logick*, in *Philosophy*, and the like Studies, appears from some Things (which we found among his MSS.) that he then wrote, in order to get a clear Notion of those Matters, as also to fix them the deeper in his Memory.

His singular *Industry*, his answerable *Improvements*, and his exemplary *Conversation*, as they *merited*,

merited, so they advanced him to the Preferments in the College, first of *Scholar*, then *Fellow* of the House. These he considered, and accordingly used, as they afforded him *Opportunities* of greater Improvements, and as *Arguments* and Excitements to Industry, being founded for this End. Tho' indeed he stood in no Need of such Excitements; his own *Love* to, and *Desire* after, useful *Knowledge*, sufficiently engaging him to indefatigable Study.

How great his *Learning*, and especially his Acquaintance in *History*, was, when newly *Master* of *Arts*, appears, from a Letter from his own *Tutor*, a Person of great Learning, as is evident from his Works (found among his Papers) wherein he consults him about the Circumstances of a Story, which himself had forgotten; which, from the Knowledge that he knew he had in those Things, he expected to be resolved in.

HIS *Common Places*, that is, Exercises like Sermons, which were deliver'd in the *College Chappel*, shew him to be a good *Scholar*, one conversant in the *Holy Scriptures*, a *Critick* in the Language in which the *New Testament* is written, and acquainted with the ancient *Fathers*, *Philosophers*, &c. and in such Learning as tends to illustrate the *Scripture*; and at the same time a truly pious *Christian*, while he presses the Necessity of a *Holy Life* from the *Nature* of *Christianity*, its Institutions, Promises, &c. To the Observance of which he, no doubt, looked on himself obliged, while he pressed it on his Auditors. He chose such Subjects for those Discourses, not that might gratify the *curious*, tho' able to do it, and hereby

hereby had Opportunity of shewing his Learning; his Acuteness, his great Natural Parts, and singular Improvements; but what might excite his Hearers to greater Degrees of *Holiness*, not merely to express a *Form of Godliness*, but with all the *Power* thereof in a truly Christian Conversation, from 2 *Tim.* ii. 19. Tho' this was done in such a Manner, in respect to the Language and Expressions, as was best suited to a learned Auditory, and yet might have been useful for an ordinary Congregation. The third Sermon, indeed, was only fitted for Scholars.

FROM *Luke* xiii. 24. *Strive to enter at the straight Gate*, he represents the *Difficulties* of a Christian Conversation. From the Christians *Enemies*; the *World*, which creates such Fears, Anxieties, Jealousies, and Perplexities, in the Minds of them that pursue it: The *Devil*, who is so subtle and unwearied in the Methods he uses to ruin us; who suits his Arguments, his Baits, to our corrupt Desires, and treacherous Inclinations, and improves all Opportunities to hurt and destroy us: And the *Flesh*, which joins with the Tempter to effect our Ruin, our corrupt selves betraying us. Not only our violent disorderly *Passions*, but even the *superior Faculties* of our Souls are press'd by the Devil into his Service against ourselves, when employed in apologizing for Sin, representing Actions as good which are sinful, weakening the Force of Arguments that are given by GOD to persuade to a Holy Life, being blinded by Passions, and overpower'd by Affections. From these Considerations largely prosecuted, he affectionately persuades

suades Christians to use the greatest *Caution* and *Circumspection*; to avoid all *Occasions of Sin*; to use the strictest *Vigilance*, the most ardent *Zeal*, the firmest *Resolutions*, and the most courageous *Magnanimity*, in withstanding our *Spiritual Enemies*. And this, considering the vast *Importance* of the *Issue* of this *Fight of Faith*. That we should keep ourselves clean *Temples* for the *Holy Ghost* to abide in; in that him, who defiles this *Temple*, *GOD* will destroy.

THESE Things he largely discoursed of in such Exercises, which he likewise deliver'd at *Elphin*, invited to do it by him who was then *Bishop* of that *Place*.

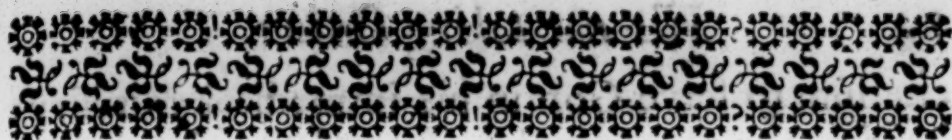
IN which Discourses, as his singular *Piety*, so his great *Learning*, early appeared. For we find him not only well acquainted with the *Holy Scriptures*, especially the *New Testament* in its original *Language*, but also in the *Writings* of the ancient *Fathers*, and that especially with respect to their *Contempt* of the *World*, and their *Acts of Mortifications*. Not to mention *Heathen Authors*, *Poets*, *Philosophers*, *Historians*, whom he makes use of; especially in explaining the *Olympic Games*, which *S. Paul* so often alludes to.

I MAY reasonably conclude, from what all along appeared in his future *Conduct*, that *Mr. Dodwell* had a special *Regard* to the *Persons* to whom he spoke, to put them on the same *Studies* he had employed himself in, especially those that would help them to understand the *Holy Scriptures*; but chiefly to season their *Minds* with holy *Principles* in their younger *Years*,
 C 3 which

which might influence their future Conversation, and make them useful in the World; especially those that should serve at the Altar, it being of the highest Moment, that Christian Principles should be early entertained by them, and their Hearts warmly affected therewith; that when they come to be called to that Sacred Function, they may, by their exemplary Lives and sound Doctrine, become *burning and shining Lights*, and conduct their Flocks in the Paths of Truth and Holiness, to the Attainment of eternal Felicity. Those, who are instrumental herein, must be justly reckoned among the greatest Benefactors to Mankind. Hence 'tis the Duty and Interest of us all, to pray, that there be many in our lawful Seminaries that make this their great Aim, and that their pious Designs and Endeavours may have a suitable Success.

ONE of his most familiar Friends, whose constant mutual Compellation was *Chare, my dear Friend*, was Dr. Dopping, afterwards preferred to the See of *Meath*. Mr. Dodwell's Recommendation of him had an Influence towards his Promotion.

FROM some familiar Discourse that he has entertained me with, I found, that if he was not *Tutor*, yet he was *Assistant* to some in their Studies, who were of late, and some that are now in the *highest Station* in the Church of *Ireland*; with one of whom he had, not long before his Death, Intercourse by Letters; who paid a great Regard and Deference to Mr. Dodwell, tho' so much advanced above him by his great Dignity in the Church.



CHAP. IV.

His not taking Orders.

THE Statutes of the College near *Dublin*, require the Fellows to take *Orders* when they are *Masters of Arts* of three Years Standing. Mr. *Dodwell*, not complying herewith, left his Fellowship in the Year 1666. Bishop *Jeremy Taylor*, who had a particular Kindness for him, offered to use his Interest to procure for him a Dispensation, notwithstanding that Statute, to continue him in his Fellowship. But he refused to accept of that kind Offer, in that it might become an ill Precedent, and of bad Consequence afterwards to the College. So little did he value his *own*, when detrimental to a *publick* Interest.

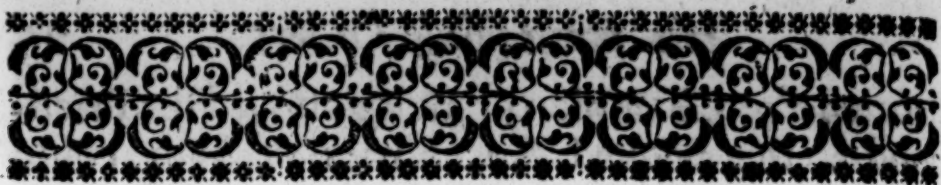
It may justly be enquired, why Mr. *Dodwell* took not on him the sacred Office of a Minister of CHRIST, considering that he was a Person so well qualified for it, from his great Skill in *Theology*, his Acquaintance with the Holy *Scriptures*, and with such Learning as is serviceable to the Exposition of them; the Insight he had betimes into the *ancient Fathers*, and Ecclesiastical *Historians*; the Knowledge he had in *Heathen Moralists*, and their Subservience to a Christian Divine, (of which more presently): His Faculty in *Preaching*, which is discernible by his Chappel-Exercises; his singular *Piety*, which might ex-

cite him to serve God in his immediate Ministry; besides the securing his *Interest* in the *College*, which afforded him Opportunities of that which he so much desired, *viz.* greater Improvements and Progress in Learning; especially when, to all the former Considerations, we add that Veneration he always had for that sacred Office, and the Honour he paid to them that served at the Altar: That he should decline being called to it. The Reasons hereof, so far as I could be informed, were, (1.) The great *Weight* of the sacred Ministry that accompanied its Dignity, and the great *Account* which the Ministers of CHRIST have to make to their Lord and Master, according to what he himself says of it, in his first *Letter of Advice*, p. 3. ‘As this is the noblest Employment, to be subservient to the great Governor of the World, in order to his principal Designs, &c. So the Hazard is proportionable; the Miscarriage of those noble Beings, for whose Redemption nothing but the Blood of GOD was thought sufficiently valuable; and consequently accountable, according to the Estimate GOD Himself has been pleased to impose upon them.’ (2.) His natural *Baseness*, and the too mean Thoughts he had of his own Abilities; an humble Diffidence of himself, as not being able or fitted to preach to a Congregation. And then, (3.) In that he thought he could in one Respect be more serviceable to the Church, and to Religion, whilst he continued in a Lay Station, than he could if advanced to the Priesthood: In that whilst he continued a *Laick*, and as such, vindicated the sacred Ministry, and became

became the Champion of Religion and the Priesthood ; the wicked Adversaries of both could have no Shadow to object that against him, which they (ridiculously enough) object against *Clergy-men*, when they appear as Advocates for God and Religion, and assert the *Dignity* of their *Office*, and the *Rights* of the *Christian Church*, of which they are Pastors, and Ministers of *Christ* its Head; viz. That they plead their *own Cause*, and are byass'd by Self-Interest. Mr. Dodwell was sensible, that what these Debauchees slanderously and impiously object against *Clergy-men*, as (forsooth) a Piece of their *Priestcraft*, there could not be the least Pretence against himself, whilst he continued among the *Laity*, and in that Station appeared in the Cause of *CHRIST*, His *Church*, and His *Ministers*.

BUT how great a *Divine* he was, (notwithstanding he would not take *Holy Orders*) and how conversant in *Theological* Studies, and how accurately he *reasoned* concerning them, will be evident from what comes next to be told of him, and his Undertakings.





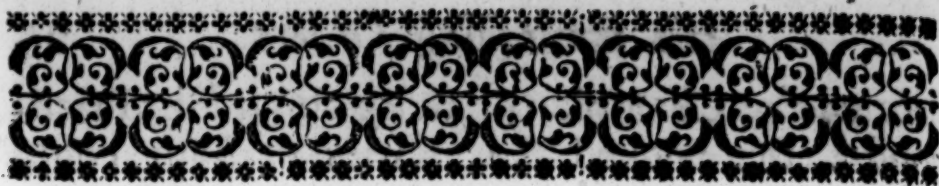
CHAP. V.

His Prolegomena to Dr. Stearn's Book de Obſtinatione.

WHEN his Tutor, Dr. *John Stearn*, had a little before his Death finished his Book *de Obſtinatione*, which he deſired might be publiſhed, yet ſo that his own Reputation might be ſecured, and the World benefited; he knew no Perſon ſo fit to be intruſted herewith, as this his late Pupil Mr. *Dodwell*. Who, when he had undertaken this Truſt, upon Peruſal of the Book, found there were ſome Things in it, which might be interpreted to the Author's Diſadvantage; and particularly the high Value that he ſet upon the Writings and Dictates of the *Heathen Philoſophers*, and among theſe, of the *Stoicks*. This Mr. *Dodwell* thought might fall under *Cenſure*, in that he might be thought to depreciate the *Holy Scriptures*, the Revelation of God's Will by the divinely inſpired Pen-men, whiſt he made uſe of the Writings of *Heathens* to recommend *Sacred Truths*, and Chriſtian Duties. In order to vindicate his Tutor, Mr. *Dodwell* firſt premies, that what his Tutor handled, and enforced by the Recommendation of *Heathens*, were only *moral Duties*, (tho' under theſe the Worſhip of God is included) and not *Arcana Cæli*,

Cæli, the great *Mysteries* of Christianity, which transcend *Reasoning*, and can only be known to us by *Revelation*. In which the Opinions of *Heathen* Philosophers have no place, these being only concerned in Things obvious to *Humane Reasoning*. This premised, he shews, (1.) That in other Things which concern our *Practice*, *Reason* is to be regarded, yea even in Things where-in *GOD* hath *superadded* a farther *Revelation* of his Will in the *Holy Scriptures*; that in these we ought to attend to the *Dictates* of *Reason*, and to *Theological Truths*, because consonant to *Reason*. (2.) That in the Examination of natural Reasoning, the Authority of the great Assertors and Vindicators of Reason challenge our Regard, and consequently, (3.) the Philosophers. He shews, that notwithstanding *GOD's* *Revelation* of His Will to Mankind, there is a Necessity in many Cases to assent to *Theological Verities*, (where *GOD* has not particularly revealed His Will) from *natural Reasoning*. Otherwise there would still be need of *new Revelations* in particular Cases; and these evidenced that they were Divine, by *divine Attestation*; and when this must be by *Miracles*, there would be a Necessity of a continued *Succession* of Miracles.

BESIDES, he argues, that the great *End* of *Revelation*, was to instruct us in Things which we could not by our *Reason* attain to the *Knowledge* of; but that in ordinary Cases our *Reason* is given us by *GOD* to be our *Guide* and Director, this being the *Candle of the Lord*. That *Revelation* was superadded by *GOD* to make a farther *Discovery* of His Will, and to assist our natural
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Reasons, and hence not to be expected in Cases where Reason is sufficient to attain the End. That *Faith*, or Belief of Divine Revelation, is *founded* on Reason, and that some *Acts* of Reason *precede* Faith, and are *supposed* in our Belief of Divine Revelation; such, as that GOD is *true*; that whatever He delivers must needs be so; and that those come from Him, which are confirmed by *Miracles*. That GOD Himself often *appeals* to Mens Reasonings, to approve the *Justice* of His own Dealings with them: From which He inferrs several Things. Tho' withall, that none must inferr, that Reason is of greater *Dignity* than Revelation; but that sometimes it is *to us*, tho' not in *itself* of greater *Certainty* to determine us; and that clear *manifest Reason* is to be preferred before the *Grammatical Sense* of Scripture; as our Saviour shews with Respect to *Divorces*, and *Works of Mercy* on the Sabbath.

THAT which he after insists on, is, to shew, that in those Things wherein Reason is concerned, 'tis not only *lawful* but *requisite* to interpret the *Holy Scriptures* from the Writings of *Philosophers*, that is, those of that Age in which the Scriptures were written. He supposes that the *Scriptures* were *suit*ed and adapted to the *Understanding* of those Persons for whose *Sake* they were written, and for whose *Use* they were designed by the Holy Ghost: That GOD might, and did use such *Expressions* as were suitable to His own *Majesty*, and the *Grandeur* of those Truths He revealed; yet withall, he used such as were adapted to the *Conceptions* of those Persons for whose *Use* they were revealed, and such as they might easily understand;

derſtand; and conſequently in thoſe *Phraſes* which were moſt *familiar* and beſt known to them: That therefore when the *Holy Ghoſt* uſes the *Terms* of the *Philophers* of that *Age*, it muſt be in the ſame *Senſe* that they were uſed by the *Philophers* themſelves. The *Revelations* of the *Gospel* were made for the Sake of *all* Mankind, and therefore its *Expreſſions* were ſuited to the *Underſtanding* of the *Generality* of People of that *Age*: For tho' they were written for the Sake of *following* *Ages*, as well as for *that* *Age* in which they were indited, yet *primarily* for the *Uſe* of that *fiſt* *Age*, and conſequently adapted to the *Language* and *Expreſſions* then uſed; and therefore in that of *Philophers*, by whoſe Judgment the Populace was determin'd. Hence the *Writings* of them of that *Age* are of great *Uſe*, towards our underſtanding the *Meaning* of ſeveral *Words* and *Expreſſions* uſed by the *Penmen* of the *New Teſtament*. Theſe wrote as for the Sake of the *Jews* in *Judea*, ſo alſo of them in (*διαſπορᾷ*) the *Diſperſion* among the *Gentiles*, the *Helleniſts*, yes, for *all other* Nations, the *Gentile* World: Hence written in *Greek*, the then moſt univerſally received *Language* throughout the World. Now, not only the *Gentiles* themſelves, but alſo the *Helleniſts*, the *Jews* diſperſed among the *Gentiles*, were acquainted with the *Writings* of the *Philophers*. *Philo* is thought to be more converſant with *Plato*, than with *Moſes*. The *Hereſies* of the *Jews*, not heard of before the Times of the *Macedonian* Conqueſts, and hence thought to be borrowed from the *Greeks*; the *Effens* from the *Pythagoreans*; the *Sadducees* from the

the *Epicureans*, and the *Pharisees* from the *Stoicks*: And if not from the *Greeks*, then from the *Phœnicians*, *Ægyptians*, or *Chaldeans*, who were consulted by the *Greeks*; in that these *Hereticks* could have no Foundation for their Heresies from *Moses* and the *Prophets*, however they might afterwards by their *Gemara*, or mystical Interpretation, wrest them to that End. Farther he shews, that when the *sacred Writers* do not oppose, or express their *Dislike* of the commonly received and approved *Sentiments* of the *Philosophers*, that they likewise approved them, and owned them as the *Dictates* of right Reason; in which Case there was no need of *new Revelations*. And he shews how this does not at all derogate from the *Dignity* and *Authority* of the *Holy Scriptures*.

WHEN Dr. Stearn chiefly recommended the *Sentiments* of the *Stoicks*, Mr. Dodwell shews, that by *Stoicks*, we are not to understand these as a *Sect*, much less as a *Sect* in the *Christian Church*, nor the *ancient Stoicks*, but the *later*, such as *Seneca*, *Epietetus*, and *Antoninus*: And that the *Christian Church* never condemned these; nay, we must suppose its *Approbation* of their *Doctrines*, if we consider the *Reason* of the *Things* by them asserted, the *History* and *Circumstances* of those *Times*, and the plain *Testimonies* of some of the *Fathers*. Such as that of *S. Justin Martyr*, *Pantænus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Origen*, and *Tertullian*. And much more, if they thought (as 'tis probably they did) that the *Stoick* and *Academick Philosophy* was the same, and approved this latter, especially the *ἐκλεκτικὴ*. And shewed, that *Plato* and *Pythagoras* borrowed

borrowed their Philosophy from the *Jews*. When it may be objected, that the *Fathers* condemned several Things in the *Stoicks*; 'tis possible they might *mistake* them, or *misrepresent* them: These were not the *latter Stoicks* abovemention'd, who were far from being guilty of the Crimes objected against the *Stoicks*, such as denying of a *Providence*, maintaining a *Fatality* of Events, doubting of the *Soul's Immortality*, and a *future State*, tho' this is not to be wonder'd at, when they wanted *Divine Revelation*. He shews, that the *Stoicks* had the greatest Regard to *Reason* and its Dictates, and that they chiefly *employed* themselves in *instructing* others how they might lead *vertuous Lives*; that People generally entertained these Thoughts of them, and hence they were more regarded among *Christians*. How this *Philosophy* was taught in the famous School of *Alexandria*, where *Philo the Jew*, and among the *Christians*, *Pantenus*, *Clement* and *Origen*, were favourable to it: Besides, by others in *Phœnicia*, *Babylon*, and other Places in the East.

AFTERWARDS he apologizes for the Severity of some of his Tutor's Maxims, and then descends to consider what he means by *Obstinatione*, viz. Firmness, not sinking under Adversities. And that which the *Greeks* express by ἀπάθεια, εὐσέθεια, ἀναμάρτησία. Then vindicates this from the Charge of *Novatianism* and *Pelagianism*; where he shews himself excellently skilled in understanding those *Heresies*: He shews, that that of the *Novatians* consisted in *obtruding* their *private Opinion* of *Repentance*, tho' not in a *fundamental Point*, upon others; and how different
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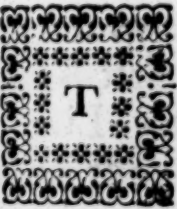
the Opinion of *Novatian* himself was from that of his Followers; as that of *Pelagius* was his denying the *Necessity* of *Grace*, or *Divine Assistance*; and how little the *Doctrine* of the *Stoicks* favoured either of these. In which, as he shews himself exceedingly well versed both in the Writings of the *Fathers* who opposed those *Heresies*, and the Writings of *Heathens* who delivered the Opinions of the *Stoicks*, so he discovers great *Acuteness*, and *Depth of Judgment*, in his comparing the *Errors* of those *Hereticks* with the *Doctrine* of those *Philosophers*, and in passing Sentence accordingly, in his *Vindication* of the *Stoicks*, but especially of his *Tutor*, from the Charge of favouring or countenancing those *Hereticks*.

SOME Readers may tax me for entertaining them so long with the Contents of these *Prolegomena*: But when this was the first Thing that Mr. *Dodwell* published, and this discovers so great a *Genius*, and so large a Proficiency in those early Years; how he had not only *read* much, but *digested* what he had read; and by his ripe Judgment in his yet youthful Days had render'd it useful to himself and others, more candid Readers will be less severe in their censuring me for being tedious; especially when this Book, being published in *Ireland*, is in the Hands of few learned Persons of this Kingdom.



C H A P. VI.

*His Two Letters of Advice, and
his Preface to the Introdu-
ction to a Devout Life.*

 H E next Thing which I find Mr. Dod-
well published, were his Two *Letters*
of Advice; the first, for the *Susception*
of Holy Orders, the second, for *Studies*
Theological. One of these was for the
sake of a Son of Bishop Lesley, a Brother to the
Reverend Mr. Charles Lesley, to whom the World
is so much obliged for his useful Labours, espe-
cially those against the *Quakers*, *Deists*, *Papists*,
and *Socinians*, and other Enemies of our Church's
and Kingdom's Peace; one for whom Mr. Dod-
well ever express'd a great Esteem. In these Let-
ters the Reader may discern his singular *Piety*,
while he discourses of the Ends of the Ministe-
rial Function; his serious *deep Thoughts* of the
Momentousness of this Sacred Office; and his
great *Learning*, when he gives Directions for Theo-
logical Studies, and the *Authors* he advises young
Divines to read. He shews what *Obligations*
they that intend to take Holy Orders have, se-
riously to consider the *Weight* of this Office; to
have *pure Designs* and truly pious *Ends* in under-
taking it; viz. the *Service* of God, and the *Salva-*
tion

tion of Souls; to be prepared to perform the most Self-denying Duties, and chearfully to suffer the greatest Troubles that may befall them in the faithful Discharge of their Duty, and not be discouraged from the Difficulties they must expect to meet with. Also to consider, whether they have Abilities to fit them for this weighty Employment. Here he shews, what Learning is requisite to this End; viz. that of the Holy Scriptures chiefly, as also that of the Fathers of the Three first Centuries, who best understood the Doctrines of the Apostles conveyed by unanimous Tradition from them; especially, when they find those first Ages exemplifying Christianity in their Holy Lives, and in their Readiness to suffer Tortures and Death for CHRIST's sake. Then he mentions other Learning, which distinct Communions at this time make requisite to be known, in order to the establishing of their Flock in the true Communion: And also Casuistical Divinity. He after shews the Necessity of Prudence, Courage, of a sweet, and winning, and of an Exemplary Conversation in GOD's Ministers; and also a firm Resolution to persist in the Discharge of their Duty. Then concludes the First Letter, with Directions in managing the Cure of Souls, with respect to particular Persons. To this he subjoined a Catalogue of the Works of the Fathers of the Three first Centuries, and tells which was the best Edition of them.

THE Second Letter was written to one who desired his Directions in the Study of Scholastical Divinity. Here he discourses of the Principles thereof, which are the Revelations that GOD hath made

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made of his *Will* to us, which are by the *Light of Reason*, and by *Supernatural Discoveries*; (to both which, the *Light of the Rational Faculty* is presupposed :) And then shews how to reason from them, and to deduce *Inferences* in particular *Cases* and *Controversies*, for which he gives some *Rules*. He shews the *Use of the Light of Nature*, or *Reason*, and of *Humane Testimonies* in the *Theological Controversies*; but withall, that the *Ultimate Determination* of them must be fetch'd from the *Holy Scriptures*. Here he gives *Rules* for the understanding of the *Holy Scripture*, and of what *Use Philological Learning* is to that End; especially, the *Knowledge of the Languages* wherein they were written, and their *Idioms*; of the *Customs of the Phœnicians, Egyptians, &c.* that bordered on the *Jews*, which are alluded to; also the *Reasonings of the Heathen Philosophers*, (as in his *Prolegomena* to his *Tutor's Book*;) the *Ways of unriddling the mystical Sense of the Heathen Philosophers*, and of what *Use the Knowledge of their Onirocriticks, Hieroglyphicks, and the ancient Magick*, is; and that of the *Heathen Oracles*, towards the explaining of the *Holy Prophets*. After, he shews what *Books* are serviceable in that part of *Divinity*, which is purely *Rational*; where he recommends the *Christian Apologists*, gives a *Catalogue* of their *Writings*, and directs a *Method* in the reading of them; (1).

(1) In his *Preface* to those *Letters*, he mentions one fundamental Defect in *School-Divinity*, which he had omitted, viz. 'That the greatest and most Sacred *Mysteries of the Trinity* and In-

THE Discourse that is subjoined to these Two Letters, in the Second Edition of them, concerning *Sanhoniathon's Phœnician History*, was written some time afterwards, and so will be considered hereafter.

THE Preface to Mr. *Dodwell's* first *Letter of Advice* occasioned Mr. *Baxter's* writing to him, and the Letters that then passed betwixt them, which were not published till Mr. *Baxter* had reflected on Mr. *Dodwell's* Book of *Schism*, and laid heavy Charges against him; which will be considered afterwards.

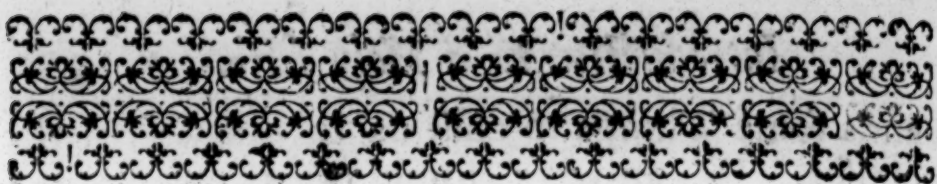
IN the Year 1673, there was published at *Dublin*, a Book at first written by *De Sales*, entituled, *An Introduction to a Devout Life*, containing especially, *a prudent Method for Spiritual Closet-Exercises, and Remedies against the Difficulties ordinarily occurring in the Conduct of a Pious Life*. To this Book Mr. *Dodwell* prefix'd a Preface, without setting his Name to it. Herein he shews, how secure it is, in Practical Affairs, to give Rules calculated from the most minute Consideration of *Circumstances*, and particular Experience; the great Advantage of *mental Prayer* and *Meditation*; and the inuring ourselves to such Exercises, as may promote the *Belief* and *Affections* of Religion: And then shews, how useful that Book is to these Ends. How these Exercises are reconciled with, and improved by, the daily reading the Holy Scriptures; and pro-

' *carnation*, are explained by the Schoolmen as to their *Theological* Consequences, from the Principles of the *Peripatetick* Philosophy, as borrowed by them from the modern Translations and Commentaries of *Arabians*.

pounds some Things to assist us in our Spiritual Exercises. He answers some *Objections* made against the Book ; the Chief is, that it was written by a *Papist* ; which *Objection* he shews, is neither Pious nor Politick : And that recommending what is Praise-worthy among *Papists*, is no countenancing of *Popery*, that is, their Errors and Corruptions. He shews, the Book was not calculated for *Monasteries*, but for Persons of a *Secular Life*. He answers *Exceptions* against the Book, from the *Homeliness* of the Phrase, and the plain *Similitudes* and the *Stories* used in it. And then shews what *Alterations* he had made in it, in order to fit it for the Use of Protestants ; (m). In the whole, he manifests himself to be a truly *serious, charitable Christian*, by recommending a Treatise that had a Tendency to promote true *Piety* in the World ; And to be a *judicious Person*, by his *altering* and *modelling* it to that End ; and so, as not to give any Offence to *Protestants*.

(m) And how desirable a Thing it is, that all Controversies should be exiled from Books of Devotion.





CHAP. VII.

His coming for England, and Acquaintance, &c.

N the Year 1674, Mr. *Dodwell* came for *England*, and chose *London* for his Habitation, as being a Place where was Variety of Learned *Persons*, and which afforded Opportunity of meeting with *Books* both of Ancient and Modern Authors. He had not been long there, before he was taken notice of, and his Acquaintance desired by Learned Men, especially the great *Divines* of that City; some of whom were afterwards advanced to the highest Dignities in our Church. He had come over into *England* some Years before, but his Continuance here then was but for a little time. He then chiefly resided at *Oxford*, where he became acquainted with that Excellent Person *Dr. Hickes*, one justly valued for his singular Accomplishments and great Performances. He was of Learned Men the first of his Acquaintance in this Nation, and for whom he always retained an Honour. As for other Learned Persons that he conversed with in *London*, it would be too tedious a Task to take Notice of them, any otherways than as they come to be mentioned by
their

their engaging him to write on several Subjects, or the like Occasions.

ABOUT the Year 1675, Dr. *William Lloyd*, since Bishop of *S. Asaph*, and now of *Worcester*, hearing that Mr. *Dodwell* was writing on a Subject on which he was employing his own Thoughts, (that which Mr. *Dodwell* entitles, *Considerations of present Concernment*) desired, and acquired an Acquaintance with him. From which time, a particular Friendship was cultivated; and this on Mr. *Dodwell's* part (notwithstanding their different Sentiments afterwards) continued so entire, that when-ever in his Discourse he had occasion to mention that Right Reverend Person, he usually expressed himself thus, *My Friend* the Bishop of *Worcester*. He has told me how he accompanied him to *Salisbury*, when he kept his Residence there, and with him read and collated MSS. in the Library there; one of which that Learned Prelate mentions in his judicious Discourse of the *Antiquities of the Church of Scotland*: How after that Learned Person was preferred to the See of *S. Asaph*, he was for a considerable time with him there, and accompanied him in his Visitations; as also in his Disputations at *Oswestry* and *Wrexham* with Dissenters, which were undertaken in order to reclaim them, or at least to prevent the spreading of their Schism: But that happened (as a Reverend Person acquaints me) about the Year 1680. Besides, before that time Mr. *Dodwell* attended him into *Holland*, when he was preferred to be Chaplain to the Princess of *Orange*. Here, for want of the Sight of some Papers of Mr. *Dodwell's* that are mislaid, and of

other Information which I hoped for, I am unacquainted with the Reasons that chiefly induced Mr. *Dodwell* to go into that Country, and with any Observations he there made; and am unable to tell my Reader, whether he then became acquainted with *Grævius*, and other Learned Persons of that Country, with whom he afterwards maintained a very friendly Correspondence and Intercourse by Letters; and other things of this Nature, which might have been acceptable.

Anno Domini 1675, Mr. *Dodwell*, on occasion of the *Controversial Letters*, and the *Irish Remonstrance*, wrote some *Considerations of present Concernment*, wherein he shews how far the Romanists may be trusted by Princes of another Persuasion. In which, he shews the greater Danger the King of *England* is in from the Romanists, than the King of *France* is from the *Hildebrandine* Principles, considering on what Titles the Pope pretends to *England*: Shews how unsecure Princes are from the Principles of the Court of *Rome*, and of others of the *Roman* Communion; particularly, from that of the Canonisation and Invocation of *Becket*, as a Martyr: Where he gives a Narrative of the Proceedings betwixt *Henry II.* and *Becket*; and shews, that the things *Becket* claimed were originally the Rights of *Secular* Princes, and as to what he claimed as the Rights of the *Pope*, as appealing ultimately to him, that the Claim he made was not legal; that he refused to have his Cause decided by the Laws of his own Country; rejected the supreme Magistrate's Authority in defiance of the Laws; and was led to all this by Principles injurious to Princes.

ces. He shews the Danger that Princes are in from the *Romanists*, from the *Decrees* of those *Councils* for *deposing* Heretical Princes, which they think themselves obliged to believe; as those of the Third *Lateran* Council under *Alexander III.* and of the Fourth *Lateran* Council under *Innocent III.* (Where he proves the 70 *Capitula* of that Council to be genuine; and that, according to the Principles of their Church, the *Romanists* must look on those Decrees to be obligatory.) Of the Council of *Lyons* under *Innocent IV.* and that of *Constance*, *Sess.* xvii. and its confirming the Decrees of the *Lateran* Council, and patronizing the Doctrine of *breaking Faith with Hereticks*: Of that of *Trent*, *Sess.* xxv. c. 19. Besides the Decrees of some *Provincial* Councils: And that the generality of the *Romish* Clergy have favoured *Papal* Usurpations over *Kings*, in *England*, *Germany*, and even *France* itself, notwithstanding what they have said for their *Gallican* Liberties. That the Distinction betwixt the *Church* and *Court* of *Rome* is of no Service in this Dispute, and is shewn to have no Foundation. He afterwards shews, that the *Personal Piety* and Conscientiousness of them, who own the wicked Principles taught in the *Roman* Communion, are not sufficient to assure Princes of their *actual* Loyalty, but render them the more suspicious of the contrary. On the other side, That a bare *Renouncing* of such Principles is not sufficient to *secure* Princes of their *Sincerity* in disowning them; both of those who are more firmly persuaded of the Truth of their *Judge of Controversies* than of the Doctrines of *Loyalty*, of which sort are the *Irish*

Irish Anti-remonstrants; and also of such who are more convinced of the Truth of these *Doctrines*, than of their *Judge of Controversies*, or any *Humane Authority*. How the *Irish Remonstrants* may approve their Sincerity in this; whether they'll act as the *Venetians*, in despising the Censures of the *Pope*, not only as *unreasonable*, but also as *illegal* and *invalid*; or be determined by a truly *General Council*, the Qualifications of which are here laid down: How they'll secure Princes of the Sincerity of their Professions, considering the Methods of their *Prevarications*, (which he particularizes:) How cautious our Governors should be in *wording* the Professions they impose on such, to satisfy themselves of their Integrity; especially what they impose on the *Laity*, who are not to judge for themselves in Matters of Religion. The *Clergy* are to be trusted chiefly, as assembled in a *National Council*. If these could with Security be protected, *i. e.* exempted from the Rigour of our Laws, it might be of Advantage to our Communion. The *Irish Remonstrants* probably act sincerely.

THE chief Adversary that Mr. *Dodwell* had respect to in that Tract, was Father *P. Walsh*; and he wrote with all Candour against him, in hopes, that as he was cast out of Communion with the Church of *Rome*, he might be induced to embrace that of the Church of *England*. Mr. *Dodwell* has told me, (from the Conference he had with him) that all the Reason he gave why he would not embrace our Communion, but chose to be reconciled to the Church of *Rome*, was, because of its putting up *Prayers for the Dead*:

These

Two Discourses against the Papists. 43

These (said he) can do me no Harm, and they may do me Good.

Mr. Dodwell, in the Year 1675, published *Two Discourses against the Papists*, tho' reprinted A. D. 1688, with a Preface relating to the *Bishop of Meaux's* Book: Of which afterwards.

THE first Discourse is to prove the *English Papists* to be *Schismatics*, by leaving the Communion of the Church of England, which for some Years they joined with; in that this Church imposed no sinful Conditions of Communion on them. On the other side, that the Church of Rome is *schismatical*, as it imposes the Belief of certain Doctrines which they cannot shew ought to be believed. All they resolve this unto, is the *Authority* of their Church, and the making it *infallible*. This Plea they make from the Promises made to the *Catholick Church*. If this is granted, they cannot pretend to be the *Catholick Church diffusive*, and hence only pretend to be the *Catholick Church virtual*. This implies a *Principle of Unity*, to which all the *Catholick Church diffusive* is obliged to adhere, which is that of the *Papacy*; and this not only as a Principle of Order, but also of *Influence*, and that independently on the Judgment of the Church *diffusive*. So that if this *influential independent* Power of the *Pope* cannot be proved, their Authority for deciding Controversies must fall to the Ground; and all their particular *Decisions* will be neither valid in *Law*, nor in *Conscience*, and will leave their *Separation* and *Impositions* destitute of any Pretence that can excuse them from being *schismatical*. This, Mr. Dodwell, shews they cannot

44 *Two Discourses against the Papists.*

cannot prove by *Tradition*, which is contrary to it, nor from the *Scripture*. And then shews the *Usefulness* of this Way of managing this Controversy, by reducing it to this Issue, viz. the putting the *Romanists* on the Proof of the *Pope's Infallibility* and *Supremacy*. (1.) To the *Laity* that want Time and Abilities to enquire into particular Controversies. (2.) The Necessity of this in dealing with our Adversaries. (3.) As 'tis a Means to retain Persons in our Communion, and reduce others. (4.) To direct *Peace-Makers*, by shewing what makes Reconciliation impossible. (5.) It affords a Scheme of *Principles* to justify our Reformation. (6.) This *Hypothesis* is capable of a more easy Proof, and a Proof more likely to prevail *ad Homines*; many of that Church defending the Supremacy of *general Councils*, and of the *Catholick Church diffusive*.

THE *second Discourse* was occasioned by a *Romanist's* tendering to a Gentlewoman of the *Church of England* some *Queries* in order to seduce her: Which Mr. *Dodwell* was desired to answer, (in that what was done by another gave her no Satisfaction) which he endeavour'd to do, so as to suit her Capacity. The *Six Queries* are these: Q. 1. Whether any one going from the *Church of England*, and dying a *Roman Catholick*, can be saved? Q. 2. Whether they be Idolaters or not? Q. 3. Where was the *Church of England* before *Luther's Time*? Q. 4. Why all the Reformed Churches are not united in one? Q. 5. Why the *Church of England* doth not hold up to *Confession, Fasting Days, Holy Oil*, which we ourselves

Two Discourses against the Papists. 45

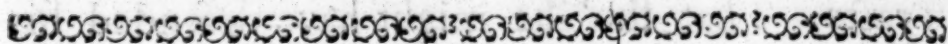
selves commend? Q, 6. Why was the Reformation done by Act of Parliament?

Mr. *Dodwell's* Answers to these are deliver'd with great Clearness and Solidity; yet withall, with that *Conciseness*, that 'tis not easy to abridge 'em, without transcribing the greatest Part of 'em. I find, in a Letter of the Reverend Dr. *T. Pierce* to Mr. *Dodwell*, that the Bishop of *London* was forced to withdraw his *Licence* to some of these Tracts: That tho' he might have defended his *Licence*, and that a Book from such an *Author* adorn'd his *Licence*, yet he thought it a Piece of Prudence, in that Juncture, not to combat with the Bigottry of some great Persons.

A LITTLE before Mr. *Dodwell* published his Book next to be consider'd, viz. *Separation of Churches from Episcopal Communion schismatical*, he foresaw that the *Romanists* might make an ill Use of some Things there laid down; and therefore, in his *Preface*, shews, how far it is from following, that if the *Nonconformists* be *Schismatics* for separating from the Church of England, therefore the Church of England must be *schismatical*, for refusing Communion with the Church of Rome; in that all Churches are originally equal; and that particular Churches, tho' they submit to *prudential Compacts*, yet when the Reason of these fail, may resume their ancient Rights. " Withall, to let our *Romish* Adversaries know, that he had foreseen the Use they " would be likely to make of a Discourse of this " Nature, and how weary he had been of using " any Reasons that might prove more than he " in-

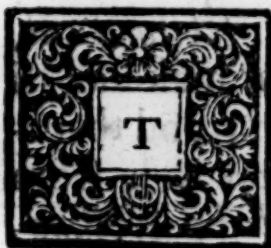
“intended, or might hinder us from Principles
 “sufficient for our own Defence against them.

Mr. *Dodwell* tells us, “That he published those
 “*Two short Discourses*, with a Design to prepare
 “the Way to that Work concerning *Schism*.”
 ’Tis probable that he had *written* those two
 Discourses some Time before, tho’ this occasion-
 ed their *Publication*.



CHAP. VIII.

Book of Schism.



THE Occasion of his writing that
 Book of *Schism*, was his being en-
 gaged in Defence of an excellent
 Sermon on *Rom. xiv. 19.* preach'd
 before the *Lord Mayor*, by the Re-
 verend Mr. *John Sharpe*, who was
 afterwards (in the Judgment of all impartial
 Persons, deservedly) placed in one of the highest
 Dignities of our Church, the *Metropolitan See of*
York; whose great Merits are too well known to
 the World to stand in need of my *Encomium*,
 and whose Death is with great Reason much la-
 mented. When Mr. *Dodwell* had made some
 Entrance on this Defence, “he did not (as he
 “tells us in his Preface, *Seet. 18.*) think it so
 “convenient to be confined to another’s Me-
 “thod (that of the Answerer of that Sermon)
 “in delivering his own Sentiments, nor to con-
 “cern

cern any particular *Author* in that Controversy, but rather to undertake the whole Subject in a Method most natural to his own Conceptions of it." This produced that elaborate Book, entituled, *Separation of Churches from Episcopal Government, as practised by the present Non-conformists, proved schismatical*. In which, having shewn the *Necessity of Peace* in the Church, and the *Mischief of Divisions*; the Reasonableness of yielding to the *Judgment of Superiors*, and that this is more to be regarded than the *Scruples* of each *Dissenter*; how requisite it is to state the Notion of *Schism*, which has been so much mistaken; and other the like previous Things: He shews, that *Separation from Episcopal Communion*, renders Persons *unsecure* of their *eternal Salvation*; that *Salvation* is ordinarily to be expected from the Participation of the *Sacraments*, of *Baptism* and the *Lord's Supper*, which *GOD* has appointed as the ordinary Means of obtaining the Gospel-Benefits; not to be obtained meerly by *Hearing the Word*, and *Prayer*: That the *Validity* of the *Sacraments* depends on the *Authority* of the Persons administering them, there being such whom *GOD* has *commission'd*, to act as His Ministers, whose Acts He'll ratify in Heaven: That *GOD* is not obliged to bestow *spiritual Benefits* on any, who receive the *Sacraments* from Persons not thus authorized, (besides their administering them being an *Usurpation* on *GOD's Authority*): That this *Authority* must be *derived* from *GOD*, and this ordinarily by the *Mediation* of those Men to whom it was at first committed, viz. the *Apostles*: That this cannot be derived without a continued

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Succession of Persons orderly receiving Authority from those who had Authority to give it them, from those first Times of the Apostles: And that (since *Bishops* were the Persons to whom the *Apostles* committed this Authority, and by a *Succession* of whom in the Church this Authority has all along been derived) this Authority is not any where to be expected, but in the *Episcopal Communion*: That, seeing it is acknowledged by all, that at the Time of the *Reformation*, the Church was *every where* governed by *Bishops*, 'tis evident, that these, when they ordained *Presbyters*, tho' they conveyed to them the *Power* of administering *Sacraments*, yet did not convey the Power of *ordaining* other *Presbyters*; and consequently, that *Presbyters* only ordained by other *Presbyters*, could not thereby receive the Power of administering *Sacraments*. He shews the *uncomfortable Condition* of them who are out of the visible Communion of the Church, as they are expressly excluded from the *Intercession* of CHRIST, from *John* xvii. 9. And takes Notice of a *Sin unto Death*; for which S. *John* (1 *John* v. 16) allows none, or little Hopes, that Prayers for them would be accepted. Farther, that when we are told, v. 12. that *he who hath the Son, hath Life*; and that *he who hath not the Son, hath not Life*; that *Communion* with the *Son* is necessary to the obtaining eternal *Life*: That consequently, whatever *Sin* *deprives* us of this *Communion* with the *Son*, which was by *Communion* with His Church, must be *the Sin unto Death*, in the Apostle's Reasoning. He withall shews the Danger of withdrawing from the publick Assemblies, from *Heb.*

vi. 1, 2, 3. which Place he largely explains (as he doth several other Texts of Holy Scripture) and makes *Application* to the *Deserters* of the External Communion with *Episcopal Churches*, from this, that GOD had made *no Provision* for the Restitution of such who should apostatize; which he supposes to be chiefly designed in the Reasoning of the Apostle in that Place.

Mr. *Dodwell* has therein likewise an elaborate Discourse concerning the Sin against the Holy Ghost, cap. 14. "He supposes that the *Jews* knew what this Sin was, when neither they nor the Disciples put any Questions about it, &c. that therefore CHRIST spoke to them in a *Language* they were well acquainted with from the *Old Testament*; from whence, especially as 'tis cited and referred to in the *New Testament*, the Nature of *this Sin* is to be explained, from 1 Cor. x. 9. where the *Israelites* are said to tempt CHRIST in the *Wilderness*, compared with *Psal. xcv.* He looks on this Sin to be the *Questioning* the *Presence* and *Providence* of GOD, notwithstanding the *Miracles* He wrought to convince them. *Tempting* CHRIST, must be meant there of His *Divine Nature*, frequently called His *Spirit*; by which *Eternal Spirit* He offered Himself (in His humane Nature) a Sacrifice to GOD, *Heb. x. 14.* Hence *Moses* tells the Murmurers, (*Numb. xvi. 7.*) that their *Murmuring* was not against him, but against GOD, a Contempt of His *Holy Spirit*, by whom so many *Miracles* had been wrought among them, tho' by *Moses's* Hands, which was punished by His excluding them from the *Promised Land.*

“ Answerable to which, the Contempt offered
 “ to CHRIST by the *Jews*, who had evidenced
 “ His Mission by His *Miracles*, was not only an
 “ Affront offer’d to the *Son of Man*, but also to
 “ the *Holy Ghost*, by whose Power those Mira-
 “ cles were wrought, which they blasphemously
 “ ascribed to *Belzebub*. A Sin punished in this
 “ *World* by the Destruction of so many Thou-
 “ sands of *Jews*, with their City and their Tem-
 “ ple, and the *Exile* of their whole Nation ;
 “ And (if the Punishment threaten’d is to be in-
 “ terpreted as National) by the Loss of their Spi-
 “ ritual Privileges, which had respect to another
 “ World. Mr. *Dodwell* makes this Sin against
 “ the *Holy Ghost* to be, (1.) A *Resisting* of the
 “ Gospel Dispensation, for which the *Holy Ghost*
 “ so eminently concerned Himself, by the anoint-
 “ ing of whom CHRIST is said to receive Power
 “ to heal those that were oppressed with the Devil,
 “ *Acts* x. 38. and consequently to work other
 “ *Miracles*. The like wrought by the Apostles
 “ to confirm their Doctrine, is called the Demon-
 “ stration of the Spirit. This plainly inferrs,
 “ that whoever resists the Gospel, thus demonstra-
 “ ted and testified, reflects on the *Wisdom* and
 “ *Veracity* of the Spirit Himself. (2.) A *Murder-*
 “ *ing* of the Prophets, and of CHRIST. (3.) The
 “ Resisting of the Influences of the *Holy Spirit* in
 “ us, who are the *Temples* of the *Holy Ghost* ;
 “ the presumptuous Committing wilful Sin in
 “ His Presence, and Dispossessing the Spirit of
 “ His Interest in us ; by casting off our *Baptismal*
 “ Covenant, by which we are obliged to Sub-
 “ jection to GOD the Father, Son, and Holy
 “ Ghost.

“ Ghost. And, (4.) a *Resistance* of CHRIST the
 “ Governor of the Church, who governs by the
 “ *Holy Ghost*, as the *Shechinah* of His *Throne* of
 “ *Glory*. This is done by *Resistance* of CHRIST’s
 “ *Officers*, who were *invested* in their Office by
 “ the *Holy Ghost*, and by Him *qualified* for it, and
 “ in the first Ages *immediately appointed* by sensi-
 “ ble *Appearances*, *immediate Revelations*, &c.
 “ as well as *directed* by Him in their Employ-
 “ ments. When such *Officers* are appointed by
 “ the *Law*, ’tis presumed to be the Act of the
 “ *Supreme Governor*, as if performed in His *own*
 “ *Person*: Thence Subjects are obliged to *Obe-*
 “ *dience*, and *Resistance* of *them* is a *Disowning*
 “ the *Supreme Authority*: And tho’ *active Obe-*
 “ *dience* may in some Cases be denied to them;
 “ yet then to *gather Parties* against them, to
 “ *disown Dependence* on them, and to separate
 “ from them, would be *Rebellion* against the *Sup-*
 “ *reme Authority* by whom they were substitu-
 “ ted. ’Tis a *Disowning* of CHRIST’s Royal Au-
 “ *thority*, to rebel against *Governors* subordinate
 “ to Him, and delegated by Him, being Persons
 “ legally authorized by the *Holy Ghost*, according
 “ to Rules settled by Him for maintaining a Suc-
 “ *cession*. ’Tis a *Violation* of that *Unity* of the
 “ *Spirit*, which is necessary for deriving the *In-*
 “ *fluences* of the *Spirit* to particular *Members* of
 “ that Society, of which they professed them-
 “ selves *Members* in their *Baptism*. Tho’ this
 “ chiefly respects *Apostates*, yet Mr. *Dodwell* in-
 “ fers, that when *Separating*, and however Set-
 “ ting up *Opposite Societies* against CHRIST’s Mi-
 “ *nisters* and *Substitutes*, so nearly resembles the

52 *Separation of Churches, &c.*

“ Sin against the *Holy Ghost*, a Sin of so heinous
 “ a Nature, how much safer it is for Men to
 “ take care to avoid *this Sin*, than any other Sin
 “ they can suspect, by their continuing in the
 “ *Canonical Communion*.

C H A P. IX.

*Mr. Dodwell unjustly charged
 with Popery.*

THIS Book, which did so nearly touch
 the *Separating Nonconformists*, created
 Mr. *Dodwell* many Adversaries, but none
 to this Day ever undertook to answer
 the Book, or any of the main Propositions laid
 down therein; but instead thereof, made some
invidious Inferences, chiefly such as would affect
 some of our *foreign Protestant Churches*. But
 this was not all. They charge him with being a
Papist, or at least insinuate, that he was one;
 neither could those two excellent *Discourses*,
 which he had a little before this publish'd, where-
 in he had undermined the main Foundation of
Popery, free him from this unjust Imputation.
 This being an usual, tho' an unchristian, Artifice
 in some Men, to reproach an Adversary, when
 they are unable to answer him; and to affix the
 Name of *Papist* on such as have opposed their
 dividing Practices, tho' they have most strenu-
 ously defended our Reformation from *Popish Er-*
 rors

rors and Corruptions. What Mr. Dodwell has said, in Answer to Mr. Baxter, in his *Preface* to the *Discourse* concerning *One Altar*, and *One Priesthood*, Sect. 5. to Sect. 13. And especially in his *Reply to Mr. Baxter*, in his *Defence of his Book of Schism*, Sect. 1, 2. is sufficient to clear him from this Charge: Of which more afterwards.

THIS Reply Mr. Dodwell published A.D. 1681. wherein he shews, how little that Chapter of Mr. Baxter's, in his *True and only Way of Concord*, deserves to be called a *Confutation* of his Book of *Schism*, in that he has never answered the *Proofs* of one single *Proposition* of his Book, much less of his *whole Work*; nay, not of one single *Argument* in it: That all he does, is to make his Doctrine popularly odious, by deducing odious *Consequences* from it, as the *Unchurching* and *Unchristening* such Multitudes of *Christians* and *Churches*. Mr. Dodwell replies, "That these *Consequences* are of his own making; that he'll not undertake to judge, where he's not thoroughly informed in Matter of *Fact*: That it will not follow, that his *Reasonings* are false, because *Multitudes* are concerned." How the like Arguing was used by *Heathens* against *Christians*, and by the *Romanists* against *Protestants*; from which none will conclude, that Christianity or Protestantism were not the only ordinary true Means of Salvation, because the far greater Number of *Mankind*, or of *Christians*, must then be out of the true Way of Salvation. Besides other Things, which he could retort on Mr. Baxter.

That he ought first to answer the *Principles*, and shew they were not true.

THE only Things he thinks deserve Consideration in Mr. *Baxter's* Attempt, are, (1.) His making *Aidan* and *Finan*, *Presbyters*, from whom our *Saxon* Bishops derive their Succession; and that hence the *Succession* of our *Episcopal Church* is shaken. Suppose this Matter of Fact true, it would only prove *us* faulty, but not acquit *them*. But he plainly shews the Falseness of this Suggestion, by proving, that *Aidan* and *Finan* were Bishops, and this from *Bede*, whose Authority Mr. *Baxter* pretends to the contrary, as well as from other Historians. And, (2.) What Mr. *Baxter* says concerning GOD's giving Ecclesiastical Power *immediately*; that when GOD gives such *Qualifications* of Ministers, as are mentioned in Scripture, to Men; he thereby *conveys Authority* to them to become His *Ministers*. Which *Hypothesis* Mr. *Dodwell* draws out into several Propositions, and largely answers, by considering it as favourable to *Enthusiasts*; represents the ill Consequences of it, as undermining all Government, &c. And withall, shews how, (1.) 'Tis disagreeable to the *Sentiments* of all Mankind, who *suppose* Qualifications in the Persons they elect to an Office, and on account of those Qualifications *convey* the *Power* on them. Their *investing* them with Authority, supposes that they had it not before that Investiture, tho' they had the Qualifications. Which he shews to be observed in *Civil Officers*, and holds much more in *Spiritual*, in *sealing Covenants* in GOD's Name, and in the *Grants of Pardon* in a special Manner.

Manner. In which Cases there is need of GOD's *actual Conveyance* of this Power, that when He does it not immediately, it must be done by *Mediation* of such whom GOD has *entrusted* with the conferring this Power. And, (2.) That 'tis disagreeable to *Authority* fetch'd from the *Holy Scriptures*; *extraordinary* Gifts being frequently bestow'd by the *Imposition* of the Hands of *Governors* in the Church; and the *Exercise* of those *managed* and restrained by the *Direction* of such *Governors*; and consequently these Gifts did not *invest* them, who had them, with *Authority* to govern. Those Officers to whom *Succession* is pretended, were always made by the *Intervention* of Men.

To this *Reply* Mr. *Dodwell* subjoined *Three Letters* which he had formerly written to Mr. *Baxter*, in the Year 1673. In the first of which, he, in a friendly Style, answers a Letter of Mr. *Baxter's*, wherein he had objected some Things written in his *Preface* to his *Two Letters of Advice*. The main Controversy is concerning *Diocesan* Episcopacy; wherein Mr. *Dodwell* shews the *Possibility* of Ecclesiastical Discipline in such a Government, as of Civil Discipline in a Secular *Monarchy*: That this was the Government in the Primitive Church; and that the *Greatness* of a City was never thought sufficient to *multiply* Bishops, tho' it was to increase the Number of the *Inferior* Clergy: That *whole Nations* were governed by *one* Bishop, yet Discipline maintained in these Cases. These Things he more particularly handles in his *second Letter*, in Answer to what Mr. *Baxter* had objected

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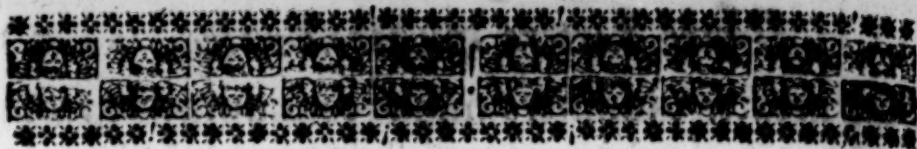
against the former: And among other Things, shews the *Mischief* of those *Doctrines* which *disparage* the *Power* of the Church, as they lay a *Foundation* for *endless Schisms*; such as making that Power to be only *persuasive* and *declarative*: That Care should be taken to preserve the *Privileges* of *Governors*, as well as *Christian Liberty* of *Subjects*, in order to the Securing of *Unity*. Here he shews the *Thoughts* of our *first Reformers* concerning *Discipline*, and of its *Necessity*: That *Coercion* makes not Men *Dissemblers*. And supposing this, yet there may be Reason for the Use of *Exterior Coercion*, if of Advantage to the Publick. He shews how the Liberty desired by Mr. *Baxter*, is inconsistent with the Principles of *Ignatius*, and the Discipline of the Church in the Times of *Tertullian*, *Firmilian*, and *S. Cyprian*. Afterwards shews, that the *Notion* of a Church, for no more than so many as are capable of the *Personal Inspection* of one single Person, is not proved to be of *Divine Institution*, from *Acts* xiv. 23. Then handles the *Distribution* of Cures to particular *Presbyters* under one Bishop: How ancient this was in the Churches of *Rome* and *Alexandria*: Shews that the *ancient Cities* in the *Roman Empire*, that had single Bishops, were generally as *large* and *populous*, as Cities are now: And withall, that they had great *Numbers* of *Christians*: That those Churches of *Jerusalem*, *Antioch*, &c. mentioned in *Scripture*, which probably were designed by the Apostles as *Precedents* for others, were vastly numerous: Such also was *Carthage*.

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How greater Numbers might communicate from the same Altar, than could ordinarily meet in the same Assembly: The Church of Rome evinced to be numerous in the Time of Cornelius, from the Numerousness of the Clergy. The Nation of the Goths, converted in Constantine's Time, before the Time of Ulphilas, (where of his being an Arian) were all under one Bishop: As were the Indians under Frumentius, and the Arabians under Moses. He concludes with a Persuasive to Mr. Baxter, to endeavour the promoting of Peace and Unity. A pathetic Exhortation to the same, (after Mr. Dodwell had shewn how Persons may be guilty of Schism) is the chief Thing in the Third Letter. In which the Reader may observe, how Mr. Dodwell, whilst he expresses an ardent Zeal for Truth, and the Peace of the Church, at the same Time manages it with singular Humility, Condescension, Meekness, and Candor, towards his Adversaries; especially such whom he thought out of Conscience dissented from him, for whose Conviction he is so heartily concerned.





C H A P. X.

The Historical Part of Schism.

 R. *Dodwell*, in the latter End of the Introduction to his Book, entituled, *Separation of Churches from Episcopal Government*, proved *Schismatical*, tells us of his Design to write a *History* of the first *Schisms* in the Christian Church, as a *Second Part* of this Work, which he styles the *Historical Part*, as the former the *Rational*. In this latter, he intended to shew, “That by the
“ Notion of *Schism*, which was condemned for
“ such in the first and purest Ages, our separating Brethren cannot be excused from its
“ Guilt; and also, that the several Principles on
“ which he grounds it, were owned by, and
“ are certainly agreeable to the Sense of, the
“ Apostles.

THIS Tract he began, writing it in *Latin*, that it might be beneficial to *Foreigners*, as well as to them of our own Nation. But this he only began, but never finished, (being diverted by other Undertakings;) For which the learned Reader cannot but be concerned, in that few Persons were better acquainted with the Antiquities of the Christian Church than he was; and the Reader will be farther convinced thereof, by the

the Specimen here given him of that little which he had performed on that Subject.

THIS Second Part concerning *Schism* begins with an *Introduction*, wherein Mr. Dodwell shews the Use of Reasoning in Matters of this Nature: What Advantage the *Christian Writers* of the First Ages are of, to the understanding of the *Holy Scriptures*; nay, how necessary they are to our Knowledge of Matters of *Fact*, and of the *Practice* of the Church, and, consequently, that of its *Unity*, which *Schism* is a Violation of; seeing they are *Witnesses* of what they received from the *Apostles*, and could not be deceived in things of this Nature; when this was so necessary to the perpetual Establishment of the *Peace* of the Church in future Ages, and hence we may believe, was carefully delivered by the *Apostles* to their Successors: However, if we find that one certain *Form* of Church Government was in the next Age after the *Apostles* universally received, we must necessarily conclude that it was instituted by the *Apostles* themselves, when the Primitive Christians were such strict *Observers* of what they received from the *Apostles*, and in Matters of Controversy appealed thereto; that in a thing of this Nature, as the Government of the Church, it was impossible they could be mistaken; that what the *Apostles* did of this Nature, was by Divine Direction and Inspiration, it being of such absolute Necessity to the Well-being of the Church, What is produced out of the Writings of the *Fathers*, is of Validity, not as it discovers what was their private Sentiments, but as they are *Witnesses* of Matters of *Fact*; which are obvious

vious even to unlearned Persons, and manifest what was the *publick Sense*, and *Practice* of the Church in their time; and we have reason to believe the *Testimony* and *Judgment* of the Primitive Church in the Case of its *Unity*, and the Nature of *Schism*: That this was esteemed as *Fundamental*, and hence we cannot suppose that they should err in a thing of so great Moment and so perspicuous; we must suppose, that the *Apostles* would make *Decrees* concerning them and these *clear* and *evident*; and that these would be strictly *observed* by the *Governors* of the Church, and *delivered* down to their Successors as things of the highest Concernment and Benefit to the Church. But then, under the Name of the *Ancient Fathers*, Mr. *Dodwell* would have it confined to the Times before *Constantine the Great*: In that they had *extraordinary Revelations* of God's Will vouchsafed to them, which after ceased; and better *ordinary* Means of being acquainted with what was delivered by the *Apostles* to the Church of God; of which they had so full a Knowledge, that they appealed to *Apostolical Traditions* with the greatest Assurance, as in the *Paschal Controversy*, and about the *Baptism* of Hereticks. Besides, all *Bishops* were then of *equal* Authority, and might freely declare their Sentiments, not awed, as afterwards, by Superiors.

He inferrs, that nothing could induce the Fathers that lived before the *Nicene Council*, to agree together, but only *Apostolick Authority*. After, he prescribes to himself the Method he intended to use in this Work, and that was, (1.) to

give

give a History of Matters of *Fact*, and (2.) a History of *Principles* from which the Primitive Fathers acted.

HE then proceeded to consider the *first Schism* we find mentioned in the Christian Church; which was that which S. Paul reproves the *Corinthians* for. This he makes double. (1.) Their dividing themselves into divers *Seets*, under the Names of particular *Teachers*, while *one says, I am of Paul, I am of Apollos, &c.* And that this proceeded so far, as that there were σχίσματα, (1 Cor. xi. 18.) *Schisms*, when they assembled to receive the *Lord's Supper*, which (ver. 19.) he calls αἰρέσεις, *Heresies*. This was in Allusion to the Philosophers, who divided themselves into divers *Seets*, (αἰρέσεις,) named from some eminent *Master*, and not from any Variety of *Opinions*. The like was among the *Jews*, and crept in among the *Christians*, tho' contrary to the Doctrine of Christianity. An Occasion for this was taken from *Baptism*: By which, as Persons were made Disciples of CHRIST, so they affected to be called the Disciples of him who baptized them. Thus they were called *John's Disciples*, who were baptized by him. This might occasion S. John's Unwillingness to admit our Saviour to his Baptism, lest hereby CHRIST might seem to become *John's Disciple*, and *John* His Master, whereas he had received all from CHRIST. This interprets that Expression in the *Acts*, of being baptized in the Name of JESUS; that is, made the Disciples of CHRIST, admitted into His School, distinct from the Disciples of *Moses* and *John*: That hence it cannot be inferred, that any were baptized

baptized any otherwise than in the Name of the Sacred *Trinity*. The Use of which Form is evident from *Acts* xix. where *S. Paul* asks those who had *never heard there was any Holy Ghost*, *into what were you then baptized?* Which implies the continual Mention of the *Holy Ghost* in the Form of Baptism. These Sects, tho' all professing themselves Christians, had their peculiar Badges, whereby they might be known to what Master they belonged. [Quite of another Nature than Distinction of Parishes with us.] This he makes out, (1.) from *Baptism*, by paraphrasing *1 Cor. i. 13, -- 17.* "I was so far from baptizing any in my own Name, so as to be reputed my peculiar Disciples, and hereby to set up a distinct School, or Sect, that I baptized very few of you." (2.) By shewing, there was no Pretence for making him a Master of a Sect from his *Doctrine*; because what he taught, was not *Humane*, but *Divine*; and hence no Reason that he should be honoured for it, but only *GOD*, from whom he received it. (3.) By shewing the Vanity of any Pretence of the *Spirit* in these Schismatics, in that they were *ψυχικοί* and *σαρικοί*, *carnal*. [Where he largely explains what is meant by these Terms, and that of *πνεῦμα*.] Especially as being defective in *Charity*, that eminent Fruit of the Spirit, tho' they might have some extraordinary Gifts. (4.) Is from *1 Cor. iii.* To explain which *Mr. Dodwell* promises, that seeing *Christianity* is mystical *Israelitism*, the Apostles argue from Old Testament Prophecies, and here *S. Paul* alludes to the *Temple*, in which every *Israelite* was interested: That

the

the *Conversion* of any Church resembles the laying the *Foundation* of the *Temple*: That seeing he converted the *Corinthians* to the Christian Faith, he was the *Builder* of that Church, who laid the *Foundation* of it: That the only *Foundation* was *CHRIST*; *i. e.* the only solid *Principle* of *Unity*, and that all the *Scholars* of the *School* were admitted only under *CHRIST*, as their *Head* and *Master*; and that this was the only solid *Foundation*; and consequently, that whosoever would divide, under pretence of following any other *Master* or *Leader*, laid a new *Foundation*, began a new *Building*. When *S. Paul* tells them, *Ye are the Temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwelleth in you, &c.* he understands not this of particular Persons; but of the *Church*; in which, as in the *Temple*, the *Shechinah* dwelt: And that they who violated the *Unity* of the *Church*, sinned against the *Holy Spirit*, from whose *Habitation* *Temples* derived their *Sanctity*; and that therefore, *God* would severely punish them. Here he largely explains *1 Cor. iii. 12, -- 15.* and shews, that in the *Day of Tribulation* which should befall Christians, express'd by *Fire*, those *Seducers* and *Enemies* to the *Unity* of the *Church* would be discovered, and unable to persevere, as having no sure *Foundation*, if separated from the *Church*. If any *Teachers* kept close hereto, and yet thro' their *Unskilfulness* any of their *Disciples* fell, they would thereby be punished, yet escape themselves, tho' difficultly.

HE then shews, (1.) That all *Assembling*, which was a *Separation* from Christian *Assemblies* as originally constituted, was *Schismatical*. (2.) That
no

64 *Historical Part of Separation*

no Pretence of the *Spirit*, even in the Apostles time, when there were large Effusions of it, could justify such separate Assemblies; much less in our Days, when the Gift of the Spirit is to be expected from our being united to the Church, and the Use of the Sacraments therein, to which alone G O D's Promises are made. (3.)

That all *Affectation* of *Supereminence* in the Teachers, and all *Departure* of the People (priding themselves in the Name of their Teachers) from established Assemblies, that each may have their own *Sacraments*, each their own *Pastors*, each their own *Offices* and *Privileges*, is to be condemned as *Schismatical*. This Mr. Dodwell closely and affectionately applies to the *Independents*.

(4.) That those who *draw* Persons, tho' converted by themselves, into other Church-Assemblies, than those which they find established, build not on a stable Foundation, if that other already laid be sound and good; but build on a new Foundation, which must needs fail. The Apostle reasons here, as one who supposes even *Apollos* and *Cephas* obliged to build on the Foundation already laid: If so, then much more are ordinary Ministers obliged thereto.

LASTLY, That nothing ought to be *innovated* in a Church, either by Foreigners or Natives, without the Consent of the ordinary Governors of the Church.

THE *Second* thing which S. Paul charges on some of the *Corinthians* as *Schismatical*, was their unseasonable Use of their *spiritual Gifts*, to the Disturbance of their Christian Assemblies, and making a Breach among the Members of the Church,

Church, whilst they consulted not the Good of each Member of the *Church*: They made an Ostentation of their own Gifts, tho' to the Disparagement and Hurt of their Brethren, to whom GOD had not vouchsafed the like Gifts, 1 Cor. xii. 25. And Prophets refused to be judged by them who had the Gift of Discerning of Spirits. He proves these to be Schismatical; (1.) By shewing, that the Spirit could not be had but in *Unity*, Chap. xii. 1, 2. --- Whilst they were unconverted Gentiles, they had not the Spirit; but upon their Reception of Christianity, and their being baptized, they called CHRIST ther Lord and Master; they became His Servants by entring into Covenant with Him, giving up themselves wholly to Him, and transferring all the Right they had in themselves to CHRIST: And He did then take Possession of them by His Substitute and Procurator, the Holy Spirit. Now by this, they became united to CHRIST, and His *Church*: If they violate this Unity, they have none of this Spirit.

THIS S. Paul declares more clearly, ver. 13. *By one Spirit we are all baptized into one Body, &c. i. e.* By the outward Baptism we are made Partakers of the mystical Baptism of the Holy Spirit; and by Eating and Drinking in the Lord's Supper, we partake of that spiritual Food: By the first, we are all united into one Body, the *Church*; by the last, we are nourished in it: And this, whether *Jews* or *Gentiles*, Bond or Free. Therefore, neither should the *Jews* despise the *Gentiles*, as prophane; nor the *Gentiles* the *Jews*, as cast off by GOD: Nor should *Servants*, under

pretence of their Christian Liberty, cast off their Master's Yoke; nor *Masters* repine, that their Servants were admitted to the same Christian Privileges with themselves, and hence disturb the Quiet and Peace of the *Church*: For while they break off from the Unity of the Body, they deprive themselves of the Spirit, which is to be had by the Participation of these sacred Ordinances, which they cannot enjoy who are separated from it. (2.) Whoever doth enjoy this Spirit, would of his own accord continue in, or at least return to the Unity of the *Church*, lest his Spiritual Gifts, which were bestowed for that End, should become of no Advantage to the *Church*, and the Gifts of others be of no Advantage to himself: Which ought to be regarded, when Members of the same Body, *ver.* 7, 20, 21. And when all these Gifts were bestowed by God, for the Good of the Whole. Consequently, none ought to make a Rent or Division, and hereby deprive themselves of spiritual Advantages, which are no where to be had but in Christian Assemblies; or think themselves so endued with these spiritual Gifts, as to have no need of Continuance in the *Churches* they are Members of, but set up new ones. The Reason of this holds still, with respect to the Benefits we receive from Participation of the Sacraments.

THIRDLY, Supposing these Benefits could be had and retained, by Persons out of the Unity of the *Church*, yet these ought not to be valued more than *Charity*, of which he shews the great Excellency, 1 *Cor.* xiii. 1, 2, 3. and also, in that hereby Christians became united, it removing
all

all those things, which are the Hinderers of Unity; such as Envy, being puffed up, &c.

FROM S. Paul's Reasoning, Mr. Dodwell deduces these Inferences, (1.) That they who deny, that the mutual Agreement of Church-Members is necessary (*m*) to preserve the Spirit in each Member; who deny that the Church-Assemblies are necessary to preserve that mutual Agreement of Church-Members, and that the Participation of Sacraments is necessary to those Church-Assemblies; who own that the Spirit is revived, and also maintained and nourished by Sacraments, and yet deny, that all who are Partakers of this Spirit are thereby obliged to Unity: That these are *Schismatics*, and the Opinions (in the Judgment of the Apostle himself) are *schismatical*, tho' they themselves have not as yet departed from the Unity of the Church. (2.) It cannot be, no, not under any Pretence of the Spirit, that Sacraments should not be necessary, that a Participation of the Gifts of the Spirit in the Original Assemblies should not be necessary: But on the contrary, such a Spirit as opposes this is to be suspected, tho' the Person makes no Separations, nor has any Thoughts of doing it. (3.) That a Pretence of Love to God, will not, in the Apostle's Judgment, excuse or lessen the Sin of Schism, 1 John iv. 20. 1 Cor. xiii.

MR. Dodwell, after this, takes Notice of another *Schism*, and that in the same Church of Corinth, which gave occasion to the Church of Rome to send that Epistle, which was penned by S. Cle-

(*m*) *Ad singulorum Spiritum conservandum.*

ment their Bishop, to the *Corinthians*. Here, having shewn that *S. Paul's* first Epistle to them was written in the 14th Year of *Claudius*, *Anno Domini* 54, or perhaps later, he largely shews, that this of *S. Clement* (notwithstanding what *Cotelerius* says to the contrary, whose Arguments he answers) was written in the 11th Year of *Nero*, *Anno Domini* 65. After which, he, out of this Epistle, gives us an History of this *Schism* in the *Church of Corinth*. This *Church* had, when *S. Paul* wrote, been disturbed by the disorderly Carriage of them who had *Spiritual Gifts*, having then ordinary Governors placed over them. These he reproveth, and by regulating them, (probably by settling Presbyters as ordinary Governors over them) endeavours to prevent the like *Schisms* for the future. Such Presbyters, 'tis evident, were placed over them. Now some two or three of the *Spiritual-gifted* Persons, who were Laicks, repined at this, and by popular Insinuations drew a great many of the Populace to join with them: (This they did from Affectation of Novelty, not from any Authority invested in the People;) so that they not only rebelled against the *Presbyters*, whom they rivalled upon account of their *spiritual Gifts*, but also excluded from the Exercise of their Office. All which *Mr. Dodwell* makes out in Particulars from several Passages in this Epistle, and also from the Arguments *S. Clement* makes use of, (1.) in opposing the Crimes of these *Schismatics*, their Envy, and hence exalting themselves against their Rules, their Pride, detracting and opprobrious Language, &c. And then, (2.) from the Arguments *S. Clement* brings

in defence of the Cause of the *Church*: His persuading the seditious Persons to Repentance, observing of Discipline, Humility, Subjection to Superiors, and to Charity, he shews, in order to Peace, (1.) how necessary it is that every one should observe the Rank and Station they are placed in. (2.) In order to this, to be in subjection to the Presbyters that are set over them. And to evince that these were set over them by God, he proves it, by shewing, (1.) That Christian Ministers are set over the *Church* as the High-Priests, Priests, and Levites, were set over the *Jewish* Laity; and there is now the same Subjection in the *Church*, the mystical *Israel*. (2.) As there is likewise of Soldiers to their Leaders. (3.) By recounting the Series and Gradations of the Ministers appointed and sent by God, from whom Presbyters derive their Power. God sent CHRIST, CHRIST sent his Apostles, the Apostles ordained others, (*ἀπαρχὰς*) their first Converts, to be Overseers of them that should believe, directed therein by the Spirit of God, and not by the Prudence of the Apostles. [Which he illustrates from the Prophet *Isaiah*, *Moses*, *Aaron's* Rod deciding the Controversy about the Priesthood.] And that the Apostles not only ordained Pastors, but also gave them Power to ordain such as should ordain others, and so transmit this Power to After-Ages, §. 44. Consequently, a Contempt of these redounded on the Apostles, on CHRIST, and on God, from whom they received their Power. Then, (3.) the *Romans* here shew, that this Sedition is to be condemned as *Schism*, §. 46, 49. Whose Sentence herein

is of great Authority, and was early thus esteem-
ed; this Epistle being in ancient Times, usually
read in *Churches*. And if this Sin of *Schism* was
then of so horrid a Nature, as is set forth in this
Epistle, 'tis no less *now*. Here a Parallel is drawn
betwixt those Old, and the present *Schismatics*, and
how they are alike abominable to God; and how
the present *Church-Governors* derive their Power
in a Succession from the Apostles, as those did (tho'
in a shorter Series) who *S. Clement* shews, were set
over the *Church of Corinth*: That 'tis incumbent on
the present *Schismatics*, either to shew that there
is no need of such a Succession, and that they
have an immediate Call from God to the Mini-
stry; or else, that they received their Power from
such who had Authority to conferr it, and from
others than Ecclesiastical Governors; in that they
could not derive it from the People, no, not when
united in an Assembly, they having no Authori-
ty to convey it. [Those spiritual Persons in the
Church of Corinth, might have had a fairer Pre-
tence thereto than any can now have.] The *Ro-*
mans here not only assert, but also prove, that
the Power of Church-Governors is from God
Himself. Our Adversaries cannot produce so
much as one single Instance, where any received
this Power from the People, not in any one
Church; much less are they able to shew, that
this was the Doctrine of the universal *Church*.
Tho', if this could be shewn, it would be of
no Validity, unless they could shew that this
Power was rightly delegated to themselves;
When withall the People, supposing they ever
had this Right, have lost it, by not making use
of

of it, by not claiming it for so long a time. If once alienated, how can they now challenge it? But the Reasoning of *S. Clement* supposes, that these *Schismatics* had no Right at all, and that whatever they acted was invalid.

MR. *Dodwell* answers the Objection of Dissenters, that *S. Clement* makes no mention of Bishops, as those to whom the the Government of the *Church* and the Presidency over *Presbyteries* was committed. In answer to which he shews, that, (1.) 'tis evident, that *S. Clement* mentions the Apostles as governing the *Church* with Supreme Power, to whom Bishops succeed in the same Government; that the Apostles committed that Power to Bishops, and not either to Presbyters or People; and the Designation of Persons, and the Right of Ordaining, was in the Bishop, the Presbyters Share herein being only a Joint-Imposition of Hands, and the Peoples an approving them: And that the Apostles, foreseeing that there would be a Contention, ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, committed their Power by way of Inheritance to their Successors. [This Power was in each Apostle, and not meerly in all when assembled together.] The Right of substituting Successors in Government is necessary to the Continuance of any Society, and this is the Right of him who is the chief Governor. Such Governors the ἄνδρες ἐλλόγιμοι, the eminent Men, were, from whom the Persons ordained by them are mentioned as distinct, and as of an inferior Order. (2.) 'Tis sufficient to the Cause of Episcopacy, that the Presidents of Presbyteries had the Right of Assembling the Presbyteries,

ries, and that none but those, who were thus called, had a Right of Decreeing any thing, and that such Decrees and Ordinations, that were not in the Assemblies thus called, were invalid.

(3.) That such Presbyteries, from which Dissenters have separated, had Bishops for their Presidents, from whence their Ordinations came to be valid : And consequently, that Presbyteries, in conjunction with their Bishop, ought not to be deprived of their Right. (4.) That no other but Presbyteries, with Bishops over them, have any Right to Ordain, in that none but these can make out their *Succession* from the *Apostles* ; none but they who are in *Episcopal* Communion, being able to make out their *Succession*.

How useful this Work would have been to the *Church of God*, had this learned Person pursued what he began, and accordingly represented other following *Schisms* which broke the *Church's* Peace, from Authors that lived at the Time when they happened ; I leave others to conclude from this imperfect Abridgment of what he unhappily left imperfect.

An Hypothesis concerning Sacerdotal Remission of Sins.

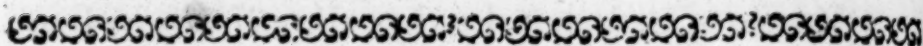


HERE I must take Notice of another Discourse of Mr. *Dodwell's*, tho' published long after ; first after his *Præmonition* to his Epistolary Discourse, afterwards by itself, because he thought it might be

be of general Use; wherein he shews, that *Sacerdotal Absolution* is ordinarily necessary for the Remission of SINS, even of them that are Penitent.

THE Sum of what he has digested into several Propositions, is, That *Penitence* cannot, from its own Worth, procure Pardon, but from God's Pleasure, and therefore is to be obtained by such Means as GOD will accept of, which is by having an Interest in the *New Covenant*; the ordinary Means of obtaining whereof is by the *Sacraments*; and, for daily Inadvertencies and Rapses after Baptism, the *Holy Eucharist*: The Admission to which, and the Exclusion from which, is committed to *Priests*. This latter he proves, because they alone have Dominion over the Exterieur Symbols to *consecrate* them, who are legally separated for this Employment, by Persons already invested with Power to call them thereto. This Power must be conceived to be given by CHRIST designedly, as the ordinary Means of Remission of Sins, and consequently to oblige all to a Dependence on the Priesthood, under Pain of being deprived of the ordinary Means of the Remission of their Sins: And there can be no Ground to hope for extraordinary Favours, where ordinary Means may be had. The Design of all which seems to be, to oblige all *Laicks* to a voluntary Dependence on the *Clergy*, (even in Times of Persecution) on account of their own Interest, in that they alone can give us the Elements, and oblige GOD to ratify in Heaven, what is transacted by them on Earth. In some Cases, as in Want of the Elements, the Priest's

Priest's Verbal Absolution may apply the Benefits of the Covenant, to Persons fitted for the Reception of them.



C H A P. IX.

His Treatise of One Priesthood, and One Altar.

HERE I shall take Notice of another Treatise, (tho' not published till the Year 1683.) because it has respect to the foregoing Controversy, and was occasioned by something that Mr. *Baxter* objected against Mr. *Dodwell*; for which, after he had shewn the *Unusefulness* of Mr. *Baxter's* other Objections, he (*Preface*, Sect. 17.) makes his Acknowledgments for the Usefulness of one Objection, which (out of *Ignatius*) he had frequently inculcated, of *One Priesthood*, and *One Altar*: For which he heartily thanks him, as that which put him on the Consideration of that Expression, and occasioned his writing that Book, entituled, *A Discourse of the One Altar, and the One Priesthood, insisted on by the Ancients in their Disputes against Schism*. Tho' he tells him, That "perhaps
 " he will not be thankful to him, when he finds
 " the Objection retorted into an Argument against
 " himself; that the ONE PRIEST can be no o-
 " ther than the *Bishop*, and the ONE ALTAR

" no

“no other than that of the *Episcopal Communion* ;” when it discovers the *Nature* and *Mischievousness* of *Schism* ; and answers a great Part of what he had produced for *Parochial Episcopacy*.

IN handling this, he shews that the Reasoning for Unity from *One Altar*, &c. was not taken up in later Ages, but by *Ignatius*, who was conversant with the Apostles, and by them made Bishop of *Antioch* ; and hence gather'd from Concessions antecedent to Christianity : That the *Apostles* themselves argued from *popular Notions* received among the *Hellenistical Jews*, from whence he deduces the Certainty of such Reasonings : That *CHRIST* says, *He came not to destroy the Law, but to fulfill it* : That the first Converts, that were *Jews*, were zealous for it; and that they then judged, that there was not a Change from *Judaism* to another Religion, but from a *Literal* to a *Mystical Judaism* ; which he shews in the Reasonings of *S. Clement*, and of *S. Paul* himself ; but these were Inducements to the *Jews* to embrace Christianity : But that from hence there's no Reason to infer the Perpetuity of *Literal Judaism*, that being only *Typical*, of Things under the Gospel : That the Privileges of the *Mystical Judaism* exceeded those of the *Literal*, and the *Truth* exceeded the *Types* or *Representations* ; and hence the *Unity* of the *Mystical Israelitism* must be more solid and substantial, than that of the *Jews* themselves. And that the *Unity*, which Christians prove from the *One Altar*, was that of *External visible* Communion, and this distinct from the Societies and Assemblies of *Hereticks* and *Schismaticks*. Then he shews how the *Jews* were
con-

confined to *One Altar*, established for the *publick* Sacrifices and Assemblies of the whole Nation: That this did not hinder other Places for Religious Assemblies, nor Altars of *Memorial*, nor make the Use of other *Places* and *Altars* unlawful, even for *Sacrifices*, they being used by *Prophets*: Nay, that they seem to be allowed for *ordinary Sacrifices*, which did not require *Assemblies* of their *whole Nation*. That the only Thing the *Jews* thought inconsistent with their Unity, as derived from the *One Altar*, was erecting an *Altar* that owned no Dependence on the *National Altar*, or rivalled it in its Prerogative as a *National* one. This he illustrates by the Instances of that erected by the Tribes beyond *Jordan*, *Josh. xxii.* What the other Tribes accuse them for; and what they argue in their own Defence; By those of *Jeroboam* at *Dan* and *Bethel*, and the Account given thereof in the Book of *Tobit*. Then he handles the distinct *Priesthood* and *Altar* of the *Samaritans*, which rivalled those of the *Jews*: How our *Saviour* declared Himself against the *Samaritans*, as well as the Generality of the *Jews* did. This Dispute happened after the Canon of the *Old Testament* was written. Had the Reasonings and Oppositions of the *Jews* happened in the Times of Inspiration, it might have been suspected that there was somewhat of *Divine Positive* Institution therein: But seeing it was since that Time, these Reasonings must proceed from that *Analogy*, which is the only proper Way of Reasoning from *Old Testament* Precedents, to the State of the Gospel: In this we are sure there was no *actual Mistake* in the Reasoning, from its

Appro

Approbation by *infallible* Persons. The *Samaritans* were not God's People; not because they were not Descendents from *Abraham*, nor because they were *Idolaters*, for such they were not for some Time before *CHRIST's* Coming; but because they had a *High Priest*, and a *Temple*, independent on, and rivalling the *Jewish High Priest*, and the *Temple*, at *Jerusalem*: They had an *Altar* for *National* Sacrifices within the Jurisdiction of the *True Altar*, with a Design of slighting it, and laying the *True Altar* aside; and had hereby *Altar against Altar*. Like that *Altar* framed in Resemblance of that of *Damascus* by *Abaz*, with Rejection of the *True One*. He shews, that the *Temple* at *Heliopolis* in *Egypt* was not of this Kind, from the *Time* and *Occasion* of its Erection, it being then when the *Temple* at *Jerusalem* was profaned by *Antiochus Epiphanes*; from the Person by whom 'twas erected, *Onias* the true *High Priest*; from the Motives that induced *Ptolemy Philometor* to grant the Erection of it, &c. when withall there was no *Schism* designed, nor hereby effected, there being always a good Correspondence and Agreement between these *Jews* of *Egypt*, and those in *Palestine*; and especially when the *Priesthood* continued only in the Time of *Onias*, who was the *true High Priest* of the Lineage of *Aaron*; *Alcimus*, who was then set up at *Jerusalem*, being not so; and when there appears to be no Successor of *Onias* in that *Priesthood*: So that this *Temple* was for no other Use, than the *High Places* had been before, for *ordinary* Sacrifices; which were not *schismatical*, tho' irregular; and not so, when used by a *Prophet*;

phet; and this in Egypt seemed to have the Authority of the Prophet *Isaiah*.

HAVING premised the Notion, which was generally received, that each Country had its *Tutelary Deity*; and that the Heathens imagined, that that Nation was most favoured by the *Supreme Being*, which had the most powerful *Genius* allotted to it for its Tuition; and that consequently they must be most happy, who were immediately under the Guardianship of the *supreme Omnipotent Being*: He shews, that the *Israelites* were such, and that GOD Himself uses this Argument to 'em, to convince them of the happy Privileges they thereby enjoyed above other Nations; that they were His *Segullah*, His peculiar People; that He was their GOD. He had His *Residence* among them in His *Tabernacle*, and after in the *Temple*, where He vouchsafed His *Shechinah*: He manifested His Will to 'em, by His *Laws* given by *Moses*, by *Urim* and *Thummim*, and by His *Prophets*; and withall calls Himself their *Husband*. After this, He shews this as a received Notion, that the Way of appropriating a GOD to any Nation, was by *Sacrifices*; that these were (as were also their *Mysteries*) confined to particular Nations: That all these had also something of a *Covenant* in them, and hence had a Signification of a *League* with their GOD, and with each other; and also (according to *Porphyry*) were a *Means* of procuring a *Mystical Union* betwixt the *Sacrificers* and their GOD. That this Notion is alluded to 1 Cor. x. 10. Hence this was inferred, (even by Christians) that they that did *partake of the Sacrifices*, were
united

united to the GOD to whom they offered, and united to *each other*; so also that they that were *excluded* from the *Sacrifices*, were *not united*; and till admitted, were *deprived* of the ordinary Means of procuring this Union. And then considering this Transaction as a *legal Act*, *admitting* *Sacrifices* did not only *signify*, but also in a *legal* Way *effect* this Union, as it obliged GOD to *ratify* what was done in His Name, by Persons sufficiently authorized by Him; and *obliged* the GOD, in whose Name they acted, to *exclude* Persons so judicially excommunicated from partaking in the *invisible Sacrifices*. And farther, as these *Unions* of Nations were managed and procured by *Sacrifices*, so the *National Panegyres* (Assemblies for the participating of such *Sacrifices*) were held in *One* fixed and known Place, and offered up at *One Altar*: That the *Inconveniencies* that happened in *Egypt* by their doing otherwise, might be one Reason of *Moses's* appointing *One Place* for *National Solemnities*, that thereby *Union* might be maintained among the *Israelites*; as many other *Laws* were appointed in *Opposition* to the *Practices* of Neighbouring *Heathens*. These *National Sacrifices* were offered at *One Altar*, from whence, after *Pregustation*, Portions were conveyed to the *Guests*: And all this, among the *Jews*, under *One High Priest*, who represented the *Λόγος*; from whose *Communion*, whoever was excluded, wanted the *Benefit* of the *Mystical Sacrifice* offered up in Heaven by *CHRIST* our great *High Priest*: And particularly of that great *Benefit* of being *united* to the *Father* by Him; which could no otherwise be procured, but by

External

External Communion with the *High Priest*, as representing the Λόγος: As *Popular Sacrifices* among the Heathen were thought to confederate them to the Guardian Deities. Our ἐνωσις, or *Union* to the *Father*, is by the Λόγος, 1 *Joh.* i. 3. These Things he largely handles from the Notions of the *Hellenistical Jews*: And proceeds to shew how the Primitive Christians reasoned on these Principles against the *Schismatics* of that Age, Christianity being *mystical Judaism*; and that both a *Priesthood* and an *Altar* were supposed among Christians; and that the keeping to the *External Communion* of the *visible Priesthood* and *Altar* of our *Christian Churches*, is conducive to the Maintenance of Peace and *Unity now*, as they were afore among the *Jews*; and therefore that these ought to be still firmly adhered to, in order to the preserving our Interest in being the Peculiar People of God, and our claiming the like Privileges of the *Segullah*. He shews farther, how the Christian Sacrifices are rather *Mysteries* than *Sacrifices*, and how it strengthens the Reasoning for *Union*; how the Christian *Bishops* were designed in Imitation of the *Jewish High Priest*, and as *Principles of Unity*: And hence the *Primitive Bishops* wearing πεταλά, *Frontlets*: And in some Churches, as that of *Jerusalem* and *Ephesus*, confining the Succession* of Bishops to *One Family*. Hence that the *High Priesthood* should not be confined to *Mount Gerizim*, or *Jerusalem*, (*Joh.* iv.) but that every *City* should enjoy this Privilege, and this without any Breach of *Unity*. Hence the Christian Pastors did not assume at first that *Eminency of Power* which they did

after-

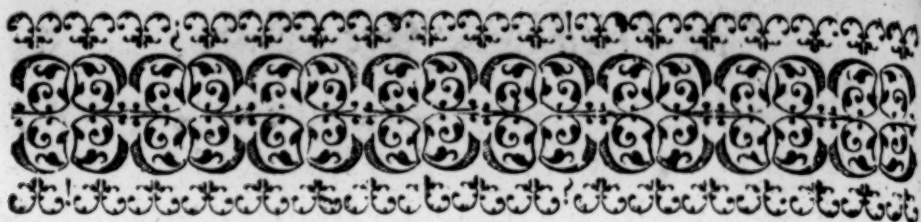
afterwards, lest they should seem to rival the *Jewish* High Priest, that is, whilst they kept in Communion with the *Jewish* Church. Hence we may understand the *Absoluteness* of each Bishop, insisted on by S. Cyprian, each having the whole Power *in solidum*; and how inconsistent this is with the Pope's Challenge of *Supremacy*; seeing each Bishop succeeds the *Jewish* High Priest in *Plenitude* of Power. We have but *One Mystical* Sacrifice performed by CHRIST, tho' represented in our *several Eucharists*; nor any more than *One invisible Bishop* CHRIST, represented by all our Bishops: And none have any more Reason to expect any *Benefits* from CHRIST, by any *Ministry* but that of the Bishop, or what is derived from him; than the *Jews* had to expect any *Benefits* from the *Λόγος*, without the Ministry of the *High Priest*. He then shews how *City Jurisdictions*, in Gospel-Times, were answerable to those of the *High Priest*; and that tho' there was much of *Humane* in these *Constitutions*, yet the Obligation to Subjects and Posterity to submit and unite, was *Divine*. That the Primitive Christians had, tho' not *Expiatory*; yet *Mystical Eucharistical* Sacrifices; and that the *Lord's Supper* is such, and hence called the *Eucharist*: The Offering of which Elements of Bread and Wine by *Melchizedek*, was long before the Institution of *Bloody* Sacrifices under *Moses*; and hence proper under the *Melchizedekian* Priesthood. That seeing the *Jewish* Sacrifices deserved that Name only as they represented, transacted and applied the *invisible Sacrifice* of CHRIST the great High Priest, who was to be offered up; the *Lord's*

Supper, which doth all this more fully and efficaciously, since His being offer'd up, challenges this Name: And as this exhibits *really* and *in Truth* what was only *shadowed* under the Law; (which he shews in other Things under the Gospel) and on this Account, as it was a *Mystical* Sacrifice, it had a juster Title to the Name of *Sacrifice*, than the *Legal* Sacrifices had. That hence *Christians* owned their *Bishops* to be *Mystical High Priests*; that as the *Angels* are *ministring Spirits*, attending on God to be sent on His Errands, (as the *Deacons*, in Number Seven, suitable to the Seven *Angels* of the Presence, and answering the Seven Princes of *Persia*, did on the *Bishop*) so *Rev. ii.* the *Bishops* of the *Churches* are styled *Angels*, in the mystical immediate Relation they had to CHRIST as the *Chief Bishop of our Souls*. The Name ἐπίσκοπος (tho' used in other Senses) denotes the Bishop's Office of *inspecting* the *Church*, and *representing* God, who by His Providence inspects the World: And represented by *Ignatius*, and by *S. John* in the *Revelations*, as *Priests*. He shews, that if *Union* with the *Legal* Priesthood was an ordinary Means of procuring an *Union* with the Λόγος; and *Disunion* from that, was a like Means also to disunite from the Λόγος, and consequently from the *Father*; this holds more strongly in respect to *Union* with, and *Disunion* from, the *Christian* *Episcopacy*: And this latter of greater Moment. And how *Tertullian*, and other *Primitive Christians*, reasoned accordingly concerning the *Censures* of the *Church*; and how those, who were disunited from their *Bishops*, were *deprived* of the *Mystical Invisible*
Union

Union with CHRIST Himself; and consequently of the great *Benefits* of that Union, those of the Gospel-Covenant, as Pardon of Sin, the Holy Ghost, and Eternal Life, the Promise of our Prayers being heard, &c. How the same Reasoning holds against *modern Schismatics*, the *Gospel Constitutions* being not *Temporary*, but *perpetual*, particularly the *Lord's Supper*: How *Communion* with the *Father* and the *Son* is maintained by Communion with the *Bishop*, by whom they are *represented* on Earth: How *uncomfortable* the Condition of those are, who are not within the Bishop's Altar, as being hereby deprived of the great *spiritual Benefits* redounding from *Communion* with the *Father* and the *Son*; and how little they are Friends to Souls, who hinder Men from considering the Reasons of this, by raising an *Odium* against the *Persons* of the Proponents, or *prejudging* against the Cause: And then concludes with a *pathetical Prayer* for the Conviction of Dissenters.

HE himself has given us, before the Book, a Summary of what is contained in it, tho' not precisely in the same Method in which the Book itself is written.

THIS Treatise the late excellent Dr. *Grabe* so much valued, that (as I have heard) he had sometimes Thoughts of translating it into *Latin*, for the Use of Foreign Churches, to whom he thought it might have been very advantageous. Hence, I hope, none will wonder that I have given so large an Account thereof.



C H A P. XII.

His Discourse concerning Sanchoniathon.

TH ESE Treatises of Mr. *Dodwell's*, the Subjects whereof so nearly relate to each other, I have considered together, tho' written at some Distance from one another : And tho' before the Publication of the latter of these, he had obliged Learned Men with some other excellent Tracts ; one particularly concerning *Sanchoniathon's Phœnician History*, published *An. Dom. 1681*, in the Second Edition of his *Two Letters of Advice*. The Occasion of his writing this, was from Letters that passed betwixt him and a Learned Friend, Dr. *Thomas Smith*, Fellow of *Magdalen College* in *Oxford*, a Person of great Learning and Integrity, known to the World by several learned and useful Books. And, indeed, most of Mr. *Dodwell's* Books were written, either on Occasion of others Enquiries, or his Friends Solicitation. He was known to be a Person exceedingly well acquainted with the *Antiquities* of Nations, and *Histories* of former Times, and hence able to discern what *Credit* such Writings deserved, which pretended to be ancient. Hence Dr. *Smith*, finding this *Sanchoniathon* taken Notice of by *Eusebius*,

binus, in his first Book *de Prepar. Evang.* desires Mr. *Dodwell's* Thoughts concerning it; especially when learned Men had that Value for it, as to make use thereof in clearing many *Historical* and *Philosophical* Passages in the *Old Testament*; esteeming him as the *ancientest* and *faithfullest*, and consequently the most *useful* *Heathen* Author, that was extant within the Memory of learned Ages. And hence Mr. *Dodwell* inferred the Advantage of having this set in a clear Light.

MR. *Dodwell* having considered his Name *Sanchoniathon*; the Antiquity of the King *Abibalus*, in whose Time he is said to live; the *Records* out of which he pretends to compile his History, those of *Taautus* and *Jerubbaal*: He considers the Arguments that were given for the Credibility of this *Phœnician* Historian; (1.) The Testimony of *Porphry*. This is suspicious, when produced by him to confront the Antiquity of the *Holy Scriptures*, and this with design to blast the Credit of the *Christian* Religion; especially when Men of his Principles approved of Frauds to promote (what they thought) useful Ends. He must be of little Value or Authority, when none (except *Athenæus*) before *Porphry* took any Notice of him: [What *Theodoret* produces is from *Eusebius*, and so is that of *Cyril*, and not from *Clemens Alexandrinus*.] Not *Josephus*, not the *Christian* Apologists, *Justin Martyr*, &c. who take Notice of any thing they found that rivalled the Antiquities of the *Holy Scriptures*, and *Tatianus* particularly of the *Phœnicians*, yet name not this *Sanchoniathon*: Not *Origen*, though he names *Herennius Philo*, who probably was *Philo*

Byblius the Translator of *Sanchoniathon*, and refers to them who reckon up *Phœnician* Writers: Not *Celsus*, who made use of every Thing that might confront the Antiquities of the *Jewish* Nation: If so ancient as is pretended, Why not translated before *Philo Byblius's* Time, as well as other *Phœnician* Writers, if known to the *Greeks*? Especially considering theirs, and *Josephus's* Enquiries about the *Antiquities* of Nations, that challenged it: As also with respect to their *Philosophy*, when *Pythagoras* travelled among the *Phœnicians* for this End; and after the *Macedonian* Conquest, the *Greeks* translated *Mochus*, and other *Phœnicians*, for this purpose. The Pretences of this Writer are great, to have his Information from *Records* in *Temples*, (an usual Method of securing Things valuable) tho' such, by which Deceivers imposed on the World, (these depending, at least in their Interpretation, on the Fidelity of the Priests) and those that rivalled each other in Point of Antiquity. From the *Pillars* (pretended) of *Seth*, (probably *Sothis*) the *Gnosticks* derived their *Prophecy*; where Mr. *Dodwell* discourses of those *Pillars*, (by the Name of *Seth*) and of the *Egyptians* and *Babylonians*, both laying Claim to 'em. *Sanchoniathon* pretends to have his Information, (1.) from the Writings of *Taautus*. This is the same with *Mercury*, especially when joined with *Ammon*, whose (2.) *mystical* Writings he pretends to make use of: But when both of these were *Egyptian*, and kept concealed by the Priests, how came *Sanchoniathon* to have Access to 'em, being uncircumcised? If admitted, were the Priests faithful in their Information?

mation? Neither is there any probable Argument to make *Mercury* a *Phœnician*. In Answer to *Philo Byblius*, he shews how careful the *Egyptians* were to conceal their Mysteries: And 'tis not to be supposed, that the *Egyptian Hermes*, the Imposer of that sacred Silence, would do it, as *Philo* pretends: When one Pretence of his, is this, That the Son of *Thabion* turned these after to *Allegories*. Mr. *Dodwell* shews this was the *Second Mercury*, supposed to be the Author of the modern *Greek Writings* fathered on *Hermes*, which if meant by *Sanchoniathon*, convinces him of Falshood. (3.) Another Pretence for *Sanchoniathon's* Authority, is, that he had his Information from *Hierombaal*, Priest of the God *Jewo*; that is, of *Ferubbaal*, or *Gideon*. But *Gideon* was no Priest, nor of the Tribe of the Priests: His *Ephod* proves him none. This shews how little *Sanchoniathon* was an Enquirer after Truth. *Bochart* is mistaken in making *Baalberith* have any Respect to *Berytus*, the City of *Sanchoniathon*. *Gideon* left no Memoirs: If he had, they would probably have been accounted Part of the *Old Testament*. However, they would have been mentioned there, as other Books referred to, and certainly by some *Jewish Writers*. *Sanchoniathon's* Writings are inconsistent with the *Jewish Interest*, and their Affairs; particularly what he says of *Abraham*. His pretending to *Gideon's* Memoirs, manifests his Disingenuity. *Intrinsic Arguments* shew this Work suspicious. Such is his Vanity in arrogating useful *Inventions* and *Persons* to his own *Phœnicia*. [Which shews him later than the Emulations of

Nations about their Antiquity.] As that of *Iron*, which was after that of *Brass*, the Matter of the Arms in *Homer*; of the *Magi*, *Dioscuroi*, and other Instances; some of which shew his Mistakes in *Chronology*, and thereby discover the Forgery. This was written to confront the Antiquity of the *Holy Scriptures*, if not by *Porphry*, yet by *Philo*; and this, probably, in Opposition to *Josephus's* Book against *Appion*, who there insists on the Testimonies of the *Phœnicians*. The *Jewish* Writers about that Time were much esteemed, (the *Essens*) and this from their mysticizing the *νομογονία* of *Moses*, and the Attestation of some Oracles. This shewn from the advantageous Characters of *Abraham* and *Moses* in the *Orphaicks*, and of *Moses* and *Joseph* being taken for *Egyptian* Priests. Other Philosophers, before *Philo Byblius*, mention *Moses* with Respect, as a Legislator, and a Philosopher. Among others, (tho' the Name was known before) was the Counterfeit *Hermes*, who wrote a little before that Time, who thence by some is taken for a *Christian*, from his frequent Allusions to Passages in the *Holy Scriptures*; but was probably one of that Sett of Philosophers, who had taken in Notions from *Philo the Jew*, and other *Alexandrian Jews*, who suited their Notions, as near as they could with Truth, to the *Egyptians*. And then the more prevailed, when some of them took *Moses* for a Priest of *Heliopolis*, others for *Hermes* himself.

Philo Byblius's Design in forging this History, seems to be his Concern for the Honour of his own Country *Phœnicia*, and his own City *Byblos*.

los. This last is never mention'd in *Holy Scripture*, tho' there is frequent Mention of other Cities of *Phœnicia*. He therefore pretends, that his *Sanchoniathon* made Search into *Records* not before known: And, having a Design upon the *Jews*, [his first Book seeming to have the proper Title; Mr. *Dodwell* gives Instances of the like in other Authors, whose Books, tho' prosecuting one main Subject, had distinct Titles;] borrows from them what might advance the Honour of his own Nation, and therefore makes his *Sanchoniathon* live in the Time of *Abibalus*, Father of *Hiram*, the first *Phœnician* that is mention'd in the Affairs of the *Jews*. He (according to *Phœnician Records*) lived a little before the War of *Troy*: *Philo* would have his *Abibalus* as ancient as *Semiramis*, whose Husband *Ninus* was the first in *Heathen History*, which (tho' unskilfully done) made him *superior* to any Records that might rival him. But when he found no genuine Testimonies among the *Jews*, (which was requisite to his Design) he was forced to forge some, and to make him a *Jew*, and also a *Priest*; (to give him the greater Authority, Strangers receiving their Informations from *Priests*) and Priest of the GOD *Jehovah*; (a Name known among the *Heathens*) singles out *Gideon* by his Surname *Hierombaal*, *Priests* usually changing their Names, possibly as having *ἱερεὺς* in it, (such Etymologies being usually among the *Greeks*) and as *Gideon* may denote *διχοτομεῖν*, when the Work of *Priests* was to *divide* the Sacrifice. He begins, by the Example of others, with a Philosophical *Κοσμογονία*. This, as others, father'd on *Hermes*,
(an

(an usual Practice, of which Mr. *Dodwell* gives many Instances.) To evince which, he pretends the Authority of the Writings of *Taautus*, or *Hermes*, and secures himself in interpreting them, when others had mistaken them, and particularly the *Egyptians*; in that the Writings they consulted, had been involved in Obscurity by some following *Priests*: But he makes *Sanchoniathon* immediately to consult the Writings themselves, before they were obscured; and likewise those *Expositors*, that retrieved the Way of speaking clearly: And so, without *Fables*, which he complains of in the *Greek*, (tho' not without *Allegories*) where he is not true to his own Pretences, but fathers a scandalous Story on him. The Name *Sanchoniathon* might be borrowed from the *Egyptian Sonchis*, whom *Solon* and *Pythagoras* are said to have consulted; adding another Termination to make him appear as a *Phenician*, as he did *Hermes* under the Name of *Taautus*. *Sonchis* taught *Solon* the *Atlantick* Philosophy, which was, probably, the same with that of *Mercury*; some Account of which, and its Original, is here given. Mr. *Dodwell* having recapituled what he had said in this Discourse, and taken Notice, that some pious and learned Persons had made use of this Author to confirm some Passages in the *Holy Scriptures*, shews, how these sacred Writings stand in no need of Confirmation from *Heathen* Authors; especially, when none of that which is cited from them, appears to be written before the Translation of the Old Testament by the *LXX*; or, however, if it was, might,

might, by other Means, be received from the Holy Scriptures.

CHAP. XIII.

Dissertations on S. Cyprian.

 H E learned *Abraham Berkelius*, in a Letter, iv. Cal. Dec. Anno 1681. from the Divinity-College at *Delph*, in *Holland*, sends Mr. *Dodwell* Thanks for that Discourse on *Sanchoniathon*, which he wishes he had written in *Latin*; and, since it was not so done, that it might be translated, for the Use of Foreigners, unacquainted with our Language; which, if Mr. *Dodwell* would not procure, he would use his utmost Endeavour to get it done.

ANOTHER Work, which about this time Mr. *Dodwell* undertook, was his *Dissertations* upon *S. Cyprian*. This he undertook by the Desire of that great Promoter of Learning, especially of such Learning as might be serviceable to the Church, Dr. *Fell*, the truly worthy Bishop of *Oxford*. His Dedicatory Epistle to him, bears Date on the 6th of the *Ides* of *April*, Anno 1682. from his Retirement at *S. Asaph*. When that learned and pious Prelate designed the Publication of *S. Cyprian's* Works at *Oxford*, (by which Edition he has obliged the learned World) he put Mr. *Dodwell*, who was so well versed, as in
other

other ancient Monuments of the Church, so, particularly, in those exceeding useful Works of S. Cyprian, on writing Observations upon them. This produced those learned *Dissertations*.

I FIND, among the Bishop of Oxford's Letters to Mr. Dodwell, several things relating to these *Dissertations*, and likewise those on *Irenæus*; how he had used his Endeavours to procure some *Editions*, and likewise *MSS.* to that purpose, from *Paris*, and elsewhere, tho' without Success; and his Concern to have the *Dissertations* printed correctly; his Letters to him when he sent to him the Books he printed for *New-Year's Gifts*; all full of great Affection, and such as testify the singular Respect that Great Man had for Mr. Dodwell. One Sept. 24. the Year not specified: One Jan. 2. 1683-4, mentions his Return to (n) S. Asaph.

THE *First* is of the Name *Clerus*, (*Epist.* 8. *Ox.*) appropriated to CHRIST's Ministers; and he shews, that it was not given in S. Cyprian's, *Tertullian's*, or the *Apostles* Time, to the *Laity*, but that the Clergy had a Superiority over, and exercised Discipline upon them. That 1 *Pet.* v. 3. makes nothing for them, that assert this Name given to the *Laity*: That if to be understood of *Persons*, it denotes rather those of the *Sacred Ministry* than the *Laity*: But by κληροί, he shews are to be understood, those *Inheritances* which were given to the Church, and devoted to the Maintenance of Ministers, Widows, &c. the Distribution of which was committed to Bishops,

(n) He was at S. Asaph 1682-3.

who were ποιμαίνειν, to feed, -- and not to act αἰσχεροκέρδως, for filthy Lucre. He then shews, how the Name *Clerus* might be given to the People. All *Israel* was God's Lot, whom He appropriated to Himself from all other People: Thus *Christians*, the Mystical *Israel*: Both of these a *Royal Priesthood*. These accounted *Holy, Saints*; when all other were esteemed *Prophane*. But hence to argue, that the *Laity* are equally *Holy* as the *Priests*, is to argue as *Korah* did. As there were different *Degrees* of Holiness of *Places*, so of *Persons*. He shews, that the Name *Clerus*, or *Lot*, came to be appropriated to the sacred Ministry, because they were at first chosen by *Lots*, as *Matthias*; and the Name shews them immediately appointed by God Himself. This in the earliest Times of Christianity: As, (1.) being taken from the *Jews*, whom they imitated at first, tho' in After-Times they abhorred their Customs, as of those who were the great Enemies of the Gospel. And, (2.) since we find *Lots* not used in the Designation of Ministers after the Times of the Apostles, therefore the Name of *Clerus* was probably appropriated to the Ministers of CHRIST in the Time of the Apostles.

THE *Second Dissertation* is on the Words, (*Epist. 9. Oxon.*) *Me in iisdem literis & Scripturæ & Sensus & chartæ ipsæ moverunt*. Here he shews, how the true *Literæ formatae* might be distinguished from the Counterfeits, which the *Christians* then made use of. These were the *Writing*, that is, the *Hand*, or some private *Marks* concerted betwixt them: As also from the *Folds* and *Indenting* of the *Paper*;

per ; as they had their *Symbola Hospitii*, Tokens whereby they might discern whether they were recommended by their Friends to be entertained as *Guests* : So also leaving the Beginning of their Epistles abrupt.

THE *Third* concerns a Practice condemned by S. Cyprian, and a Synod (*Epist.* 14.) of Women, *cum Viris iisque Clericis concumbentium*, and yet (as they profess'd) keeping themselves pure and chaste : Condemned also by a Council at *Antioch*, when it was again introduced by *Paulus Samosatenus* ; and also by the Council of *Nice*, *S. Basil*, and others. He shews the *Pretences* made for it, among the *Heathen Philosophers* ; particularly, among the *Platonists*. That this Practice was not among *Christians*, till a little before S. Cyprian's Time ; as is evident from what the *Apologists* say of the *Purity of Christians*, when they take Notice how falsely they were charged with incestuous Mixtures. He then shews, how unjustly and unreasonably the *Canons*, which were enacted against these *συμεισσαντοί*, (the Reason of which Name he had considered) are produced by the *Enemies of the Marriage of Priests* ; in that these *Persons*, thus condemned by Synods, were *unmarried*.

THE *Fourth Dissertation* proves the Continuance of *Divine Visions*, and *Prophecies* in the Church, till the Time of S. Cyprian. He instances in those of S. *John's Revelations*, *Hermes*, *Clement Romanus*, *Ignatius*, *Quadratus*, *Philip's Daughters*, *Ammia of Philadelphia*, *Polycarp*, the Testimony of *Justin Martyr*, *Melito*, *Alexander the Phrygian*, &c. Of *Irenæus*, *Perpetua*, and *Saturus* ;

rus; and shews, that these Two were not *Montanists*: And that the *Catholicks* condemned the *Montanists*, not because they thought that Prophecies were ceased in the Church, to which Gift the *Montanists* pretended; but on other Reasons: As that their Prophecies were from a *prophane* Spirit, and because they taught that Prophecies should end with them, whereas the *Catholicks* thought there should be a Continuance thereof in the Church. (Tho' in this they were mistaken;) and particularly, from the Author of the *Acts* of *Perpetua*, &c. whom he proves to be no *Montanist*. He instances in Revelations made to *Natalis*, *Potamiana*; to *Alexander* to go to *Palestine*, and to others to make him their Bishop, as *Fabianus* was made by Divine Revelation. How *Origen* testifies, that there were (ἰχϗη) some Footsteps or Remains of Prophecy in his own Time; as also *Dionysius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, who was, by a divine Admonition, bid to fly in Time of Persecution; as was his Contemporary *S. Cyprian*, of which he produces several Instances; as also Revelations made to him in other Cases, and particularly, concerning the Time of his Martyrdom. *Eusebius* intimates the Cessation of these in his Days; and 'tis generally acknowledged from the Time of *Constantine*. He shews, how *True* Revelations were discerned from *Counterfeit*; as being publicly declared, submitted to the Judgment of them who had the Gift of *Discerning of Spirits*; (of which Gift he discourses) attested to by *Miracles*, *Prediction* of future Contingencies, confirmed by the Accomplishment, with which they thought none could

could be acquainted, but GOD Himself. By this the *Delusions* of ancient and modern *Enthusiasts* may be *discovered*. He afterwards shews, how Visions and Prophecies may be proved to come from GOD, and what *Characteristicks* Primitive Christians made use of for this End: Among others, that the Prophets were at *Unity* with the Church.

THE *Fifth Dissertation* is, concerning the *reciting* of *Names* out of the *Diptychs* of the Church in the Time of the *Eucharist*. Where he shews, that tho' in later Ages only, the Names of eminent *Bishops* were thus recited; yet, in more ancient Times, whoever died in the Communion of the Church were thus commemorated. This, in Allusion to the *Matriculae*, or Registers, wherein the Names of Citizens were recorded: Christians were reckoned as *Citizens* of the New or Heavenly *Jerusalem*, which they esteemed to be their Country: Thence to have (according to the Custom of Cities) a *new* Name, and to belong to the *Jerusalem* above, typified by that on Earth. Hence said to have their *Names written in Heaven*, and in the *Book of Life*; which Expression he explains: And, how *Excommunication* is expressed, by *casting out* Mens *Names*. That 'tis probable, that the *Offering* the publick *Register*, or *Diptych*, in which these Names were written, and not *Reciting* those particular Names, was the Custom at first in the Christian Sacrifice. The reason of these Registers from recording the Names of *Debtors* and *Soldiers*. How this *Subscription* of their Names preserved them faithful to CHRIST in Time of Perse-

Persecution, and secured their Communion from Pagans and Hereticks, and was serviceable in other Acts of Discipline. That besides these, there were other Catalogues of the Clergy, and of such as were maintained by the Church. The Commemorating the dead Saints and Martyrs, was by way of Thanksgiving for them, not to obtain Mercies for them: Tho' from the first, the last crept in by Degrees; and this in Imitation of Heathens. The Expunction of the Names of any out of the Diptychs, was a Recalling the Honour formerly vouchsafed to 'em, (not an Inflicting any thing on their Souls) from the Knowledge of some Misdemeanour, which till then had not been known; and this in order to deterr others from the like Practices.

THE Sixth Dissertation is on those Words of S. Cyprian, Epist. 29. *Cum Presbyteris doctoribus --- doctorem Audientium constituimus.* Who those Presbyteri Doctores were, he shews out of the New Testament, Hermas, &c. that there were such in the first Ages of the Church; and tho' it was a Qualification of a Bishop to be διδασκλικός, yet withall, many Presbyters were such Teachers: That this was then an extraordinary Gift conferred chiefly on Presbyters; that it continued to S. Cyprian's Time, as other extraordinary Gifts did; that when these ceased, we find no more Mention of them in After-Ages; that in the New Testament, these are not mentioned among ordinary Officers, but among the extraordinary of Apostles, Prophets, and Miracles, which all own now to be ceased; and hence (being never mentioned in the Fourth and following Centuries)

to be esteemed *Temporary*, and proper to the First Ages. He farther shews, that when some *Presbyters* were *Doctores*, and hereby distinguished from others, that some *Presbyters* were not such; and, consequently, that *Teaching* is not essential to the Office of *Presbyters*, seeing others were such, besides those that *laboured in Word and Doctrine*, as not to the Office of *Priests* under the Law; and that there are other things incumbent on *Presbyters*, which, if faithfully discharged, may excuse them from the Work of Preaching. He shews, that in electing such a Teaching *Presbyter*, S. Cyprian consulted only these *Presbyteros Doctores*, as he did in other Cases, Persons conversant and skilful in that Affair: That by *Audientes*, whom these *Presbyters* were to teach, *Catechumeni* were meant; *Faith*, or the Belief of the Christian Doctrine, coming from *Hearing*. Such were the *Catechists* in the School of *Alexandria*. The *Lectores* and *Sub-Deacons* were, by S. Cyprian, sometimes reckoned among the Clergy, at other times not. That Messages from Churches were usually sent by such inferior Officers, sometimes by the superiour Clergy, according to the *Dignity* of the Persons, from whom, and to whom they were sent, and the *Importance* of the Message. Sometimes *Presbyters* were Legates, sometimes *Bishops*, and there, together with *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, as from the *Magnesians* to *Ignatius*. (More honourable than in S. Cyprian's Time) and that none of the inferiour Orders were at that Time in the Church. 2 Cor. viii. 23. There were ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν, Messengers of the Churches, sent by them to plant the

Gospel. They were the *Apostles* of them that sent them, as the *Twelve* were the Apostles of CHRIST, sent by Him, and *Representers* of His Person. These had an *Honorary Reception*; and this for GOD's sake, on whose Errand they came.

THE *Seventh Dissertation* is on the 33^d *Epistle*, occasioned by the *Lapsi*, procuring Restitution to Communion, not in the Name of the Presbyters, or the Laity, but of the *Martyrs*, and this without the Consent of the *Bishops*, (as the *Donatists* did afterwards;) by which, the *Martyrs* challenged the Right of being *Principles of Unity*, which S. Cyprian challenges as the Prerogative of the *Bishop*. Here Mr. Dodwell shews, (1.) That the Controversy here managed by S. Cyprian, is not concerning the *Union* of the *Catholick Church*, comprizing *all Churches* of the World, (as the *Papists* would have it understood, hereby to defend the *Pope's Supremacy*) but of *particular Churches*; whether Communion should be kept with the *Martyrs*, or with the *Bishops*, by the Members of his Diocese: And here he shews the Weakness of the *Romanists* arguing from this, and the Words of *Cornelius*, that there ought to be but *One Bishop in a Catholick Church*, and the like Expressions used in Opposition to *Novatian*: That this, tho' spoken of the Bishop of Rome, is to be understood as it concerned *that particular Church*; and that the like Expressions are used by the Ancients concerning *other Churches*, and who are called *Catholick*. (2.) That there is not any one *particular Church* of that Nature, as that, without Communion with it, *other Churches* should cease to be *Churches*, or Members of the

Catholic Church : But yet, in particular *Churches* there are some *Members* that are absolutely necessary to the Being of a *Church* ; as the *Head* is necessary to the Body of an Animal, so is the *Bishop* to the *Church*. This is confirmed by *Holy Scripture's* Reasoning, and shew'd to be the Reasoning of S. Cyprian, that those are not *in* the *Church*, who are not (in Communion) with the *Bishop* ; neither can that Company be a *Church*, which is not joined with, (*adunata*) or one with the *Bishop* ; and that this is evident, because a Right to Sacraments, by which Spiritual Life is maintained, is from the *Bishop* : And here Mr. Dodwell briefly shews, how *Christians* are united to CHRIST by *Sacraments*, mystical Sacrifices ; which he had done largely in his Discourse of *One Altar*, and *One Priesthood*.

MR. Dodwell afterwards takes Notice of S. Cyprian's Argument for the *Bishops* being the *Principle of Unity*, from CHRIST's Words to S. Peter, *On this Rock will I build my Church*, &c. from whence S. Cyprian argues, That the *Church* is constituted on *Bishops*, and all its *Acts* governed by them. This Mr. Dodwell largely handles, that he may shew of how little Service this Place is to the *Romanists*, to prove the *Pope's Supremacy*.

MR. Dodwell shews, that none ought to withdraw themselves from Communion with their *Bishop*, unless he *apostatized* from Christianity, as *Martialis* and *Basilides* did ; or was guilty of *Heresy*, and was condemned for it by a *Council*, as *Privatus Lambesitanus* was ; or in a Case of *Schism*, where the *Church* universally withdraws
from

from such, as in the Case of *Novatian*: That, excepting these Cases, no Subject whatsoever ought to withdraw from the Communion of his Bishop: And withall, that the Bishop has a *negative* Voice, or Suffrage.

THE *Eighth Dissertation* is concerning the Nature of *Prerogatives*, and how the Suffrage of *Martyrs* was in that Age by some so esteemed, as that what they granted, could not be withstood, no, not by the Bishop himself: Also of the *Privilegium indulgentiæ*, according to the *Roman* Law. It was answered to this Prerogative, when urged by the *Lapsi*, even in Opposition to the Bishop; that when *Prerogatives* were granted, yet they could not take Place in several Cases which were excepted even by the *Rescripts* of Princes; and that when such happened, *Prerogatives* must give Place to *Laws*; especially such, wherein the *Majesty* of the *Prince* was concerned, and the *Welfare* of the *Society*; and especially, of *this* Society the *Church*, which was instituted by GOD Himself.

THE *Ninth Dissertation*, after declaring what *Auctoritas* is in the *Roman* Law, shews, that *Episcopal* Authority belonged not to *Presbyters*, during the *Vacancy* of the Bishop's See: They having no Power to make *Decrees*, and other Things, which were appropriate to the Office of a Bishop.

The *Tenth* shews, that the Power of *Ordaining*, not only of *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, but even of *Lectores*, resided in the *Bishop*, *Presbyters* having no Right to Ordain: That *Bishops* were a *College*, and a distinct Order: That the *Dichotomy*

zomy of *Sacerdotes* and *Diaconi*, proves not that *Bishops* and *Presbyters* were the same Order: That, as among the *Jews*, the Clergy are often all comprized under the Names of *Priests* and *Levites*; and yet, under the First, both the Office of the *High Priest*, and that of the *Second Order*, are comprized; and yet, that of the *High Priest* was distinct from, and superiour to the other, some things being appropriate to that Office; so it was in the *mystical Israelitism*, among *Christians*. All the Clergy are divided into (*Sacerdotes*) *Priests* and *Deacons*; yet, under the first Name, the *Bishops* and *Presbyters* are comprehended; both having Authority to offer the mystical *Sacrifice* of the *Eucharist*; but yet, that the latter want Power to perform some Acts appropriate to a Bishop.

THE Eleventh Dissertation shews, how small the Number of *Martyrs* was in the first Persecutions, and how later *Martyrologies*, especially of the *Romanists*, have multiplied them without the Authority of ancient Mouments. For this Mr. *Dodwell* has been too severely taxed, and for which he has been not a little concerned. He hath told me, that his Friend, the then Bishop of *S. Asaph*, put him upon the writing of it; that the lessening the Number of *Martyrs* lessened not the *Glory* of Christianity, when the heroick *Constancy* and *Patience* of them that suffered, which tended so much to its Honour, was the great Reason the Persecutors put a *Stop* to these Slaughters. For when they perceived, how little this Method conduced to the Suppression of Christianity; nay, so far was it from it, that the singular

lar *Magnanimity* and *Chearfulness*, wherewith these Martyrs were inspired, manifested the Excellency of that Religion, whose *Principles* had such an Influence on them ; or, at least, how much they were favoured by the *Supreme Being*, who afforded them that *Divine Aid* and *Assistance*, as to bear up with such Alacrity in the midst of the cruellest Tortures : That it encouraged others to *persevere* in their Allegiance to CHRIST, and added to the Number of His Disciples. From whence the greatest *Enemies* of Christianity found, that these Slaughters were not the proper Way to extirpate it, and hence forbore to send out their *Edicts* for this End ; or, if they had sent them out, saw it expedient to recall them. Mr. *Dodwell* shews, that several Persecutions mentioned in History, proceeded from tumultuous Rage of the *Populace*, or the *Edicts* of *Præfects* of Provinces, and not from the *Edicts* of the *Emperors* themselves ; and, therefore, not general Persecutions over the *Roman Empire*.

MR. *Dodwell* has often mentioned *Ruinartus* as a learned and candid Adversary ; and that he could not answer him, in that he could not, during the War, and Want of Intercourse with *France*, procure his *Acta sincera Martyrum*, which he had only Opportunity of reading in *Trinity College-Library* in *Oxford*. Tho' withall he owned, that there was another thing which discouraged him from handling that Subject ; which was, that he must be forced to *expose* the *Weakness* or *Credulity* of some ancient Writers, which some irreligious Wretches would lay hold on to vile Purposes : Which Handle he was very un-

willing to afford them. But without going to Particulars under each persecuting Emperor, or them that are reckoned such, which he considers in that *Dissertation*; he thought none of his Adversaries could evade the Testimony of Origen against *Celsus*, (*Lib. 3.*) where he asserts, that there were (ὀλίγοι -- καὶ σφόδρα εὐαριθμητοί) few, and those easily numbred, who suffered Death in the Cause of Christian Religion. He shews, how without Authority, and unskilfully, the Compilers of the *Martyrologies* have multiplied the Number of Martyrs under *Decius*; how falsely *Adrian* is made a Persecutor; how many of the Persecutions were only local, and partial, as that under *Trajan*; and those under him, from the Rage of the Populace, sometimes excited by the Jews, the bitter Enemies of Christians; how short many Persecutions were, the Persecutors themselves reigning but a little Time, as *Decius*; and some of them beginning their Persecutions late, as *Valerian*; what *Edicts* some Emperors made in favour of Christians, which repress'd the Governors of Provinces; and that of Cities, from their Privileges, used greater Liberty against the Christians, yet their Power extended not to the Lives of Persons: How some Emperors, as *Commodus*, *Alexander Severus*, *Philippus*, &c. were favourable to Christians, others not Enemies to them: How that many of the *Edicts* of Persecutors respected only such as were converted from Heathenism, or those that converted them, (besides those that offered themselves) and not such as were born of Christian Parents; *Maximius's* only reached Bishops, or at farthest, them and Presbyters; and

and even *Decius's* chiefly was bent against the *Pastors* of CHRIST's Flock, and the two first Years of that under *Dioclesian*, till he resigned the Empire. Many Persecutions were prosecuted more by *Tortures*, *Imprisonments*, and *Banishments*, than by *capital Punishments*. The first Year of *Valerian's* Persecution, was by *Banishment*, and sending to the *Mines*; and when after he proceeded to put Christians to Death, among others S. Cyprian, and *Xystus* Bishop of *Rome*; presently *Wars* arose, which *diverted* him from the Violence of his Persecution. Some *Governors* of Provinces were *less severe* than others, in executing severe *Edicts*. The *Tenth* Persecution he most largely describes in the several Steps thereof; that few suffered in the Western Part of the Empire, which fell to the Share of *Constantius Chlorus*, and after his Death to *Constantine*: And then in what Parts of the East most suffered, and under whom, and by whose *Edict*, &c.

IN which Dissertation there are many Things which will gratify the curious Reader: Such are, the *Occasions* of raising *Persecutions* against Christians, as *Earthquakes*, or other general *Calamities*, which the Heathens imputed to the Anger of their Deities against Christians: The *exact Time* when the Persecutions *began*, in part known by the Apologies made for Christians, and the *Refutation* of the Crimes objected against them; as also the Time when they *ceased*. The Time of the Martyrdom of particular Persons, which was often at *Agonistical Solemnities*, and great *Festivals*: The Observation of the *Natalitia* of Martyrs, and the great *Honour* paid to their *Memo-
ries*;

ries; besides many other Things that might be mentioned.

HE shews at last, that the *Fewness* of them that suffered Death for CHRIST's Sake, (that is, few, if compared with *Legendary Writers*) *detracts* nothing from the *Honour* of Christianity, considering that the unparallel'd *Magnanimity* of Christians in their chearful suffering Death and Tortures, and the *Joy* they express'd in having the Crown of Martyrdom, *abated* the Violence and Fury of their Persecutors, when they observed how much all People *pitied* those Innocents, and abhorred the Cruelty of them that butcher'd 'em: And withall observed, that Christians were not *deterred* hereby; that Multitudes *offer'd* themselves as Sacrifices in this Cause; and that such as *persisted* in their Fidelity to CHRIST, were esteemed as glorious *Conquerors*. But this Mr. Dodwell particularly handles in

THE *Twelfth Dissertation*, wherein he recounts the signal *Courage* and *Fortitude* of Martyrs, in suffering the Miseries inflicted on them with the greatest Alacrity; being as *desirous* to *excell* in their constant *enduring* new *invented* Tortures, as their *Enemies* to manifest how *ingenious* they were in inventing them: And these not only *Christian Priests*, but also *Laicks*; not only *Men*, but *Women*; not only Persons of a *natural Courage*, but also *Boys*, and Persons of a *timorous* Disposition; and all this from *Divine Assistance*, from the Heavenly Aid they were inspired with by Almighty GOD, in whose Cause they suffer'd. Tho' they the easilier endured these, by the *Watchings*, *Fastings*, and other Austerities and Exercises to which they had accustomed themselves;

Selves; by which even *Heathens* were brought to a patient Suffering of Miseries; yet *Christians* ascribed all their Constancy to the *Assistance* they received from GOD Himself, *Phil. iv. 13.* And hence the Martyrs begged the *Prayers* of other Christians for the obtaining of the Divine Aid; and when obtained, they offered up to GOD their grateful *Acknowledgment* of His Goodness therein vouchsafed to them. Tho' *Exercises* might fit them for suffering, yet it was GOD alone that could fill 'em with Joy while enduring these, and with *Ambition* to suffer. The *Desire of Glory* caused several *Heathens* to endure Miseries; and 'tis owned that great *Honours* were conferred by Christians on *Martyrs*; yet this could not be the great *Inducement* to Christians to choose Suffering; in that *Ambition* and Desire of Glory was so contrary to their Christian *Profession*; and, if plainly discovered, sufficient to *deprive* them of Christian *Communion*; to which they were not to be readmitted, till they had pass'd thro' the Acts of deep *Humiliation*. This would *deprive* them of God's *Favour* and Aid here, and of *future Rewards* of these Sufferings: Besides other Considerations. 'Tis true, they might be desirous of some *Honour*, that is, to be honour'd by God, by good Men, and by the *Church*: But none can blame such Desires.

THESE Miseries Martyrs endured to preserve inward Peace from the securing their Integrity; but chiefly from their firm *Belief* of *endless Happiness*, and the Expectation of enjoying that *Recompence of Reward*.

IF the Belief of *Immortality* made the *Heathen Britans* and *Thracians* to despise Death, much more

more could a better grounded *Faith* produce this in *Christians* of all Sexes and Conditions ; especially when they were called to *die* for CHRIST'S Sake, which was the happiest Death, as that which put them into an *immediate Possession* of a great Degree of Glory and Felicity ; when they thought that their *Prayers* from under the Altar might have a more singular *Efficacy* to procure Blessings for the Church, and the *hastening* of *Christ's Kingdom* ; in which *Millennium*, or *first Resurrection*, they thought the *Martyrs* would chiefly, if not only, be *raised* to reign with CHRIST ; an Opinion that then generally prevailed, and which Mr. Dodwell shews on what Reasons it was entertained, and why they thought the *End* of the World near at Hand, and how this encouraged them to suffer Martyrdom : As likewise the Thoughts of *escaping* the *Miseries* which impure Souls would suffer in the *general Conflagration* : As also the Hopes of a greater Degree of Glory in Heaven : That *Martyrdom* supplied the Room of *Baptism*, and also of the Holy *Eucharist*, which in Times of Persecution they wanted, they esteeming Martyrdom a *Libation*, a Sacrifice most acceptable to GOD, and that which united them to GOD : Nay farther, made an *Expiation* for Sin. This Expression Mr. Dodwell shews did not detract from the perfect *Satisfaction* made by the Merits of CHRIST, in that they looked upon the *Sufferings* of *Martyrs* as the *Sufferings* of CHRIST Himself dwelling and living in them, the *Bodies* of Christians being the *Members* of CHRIST : Whence the Apostle (Col. i. 24.) rejoices in his *Sufferings*, by which he filled up that which is behind of the *Sufferings* of Christ. The

The *Martyrs* thought, that when they suffered, CHRIST suffered *with*, and *in* them, and hence were confident of *Support* under the Tortures of their Persecutors. Hence they inferred the *Validity* of the *Intercession* of Martyrs in Behalf of the Penitent *Lapsi*. But the chief Cause of the Martyrs Chearfulness under their Suffering, was the *Aid* they expected from CHRIST, as suffering with Him, and which they actually found. They hence had some previous *Warnings* of the Time of their Sufferings, from which they concluded them *determined* by GOD Himself; and hence, that they could not *hurt* them, when appointed by the Designation of their Heavenly Father; and that He would grant them *Patience* to persevere, whatever Miseries they should conflict with; and they needed only to commit themselves to GOD's Care, under which they should be secure. Farther, after they were apprehended, GOD filled them with *unspeakable Joy*, filled their Hearts with that *Peace*, and *Consolation*, which surpassed ($\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha\ \nu\epsilon\nu$) all Apprehension, Sense or Understanding; from whence they concluded that GOD would not be *wanting* to 'em in their *last Conflict*, relying on the *Promises* of GOD; neither did any at last *complain* that GOD had failed them, but were as ready to endure a *second* or *third Conflict*, as the *first*. Mr. Dodwell shews how much these *Christians* Arguments to *Patience*, surpassed whatever *Stoicks* or *Epicureans* made use of, viz. these from an Expectation of GOD's *Assistance*, and the Hope of *future Glory*. And withall, what Marks of GOD's Favour S. Stephen, Polycarp, &c. enjoyed in their last Moments:

How

How frequently wild *Beasts* were deprived of *Power* to hurt the Christians, when exposed to their Fury: And the *Fire*, that was prepared to consume *Polycarp*, encompassed him as an Arch: And what signal *Joy* they found at the Time of their Tortures, and their Death; and how *second* *Sufferings* healed the Sores they suffered in their first *Conflicts*. Mr. *Dodwell* manifests the Certainty of all this, when publick; when the Effects were not contradicted by their Persecutors, whose Interest it was to detect the Falshood, if any; but that it was by them ascribed to *Magick*, &c. If question'd, 'twas by *Scepticks* that doubted of every Thing: When this Constancy converted others, even the *Instruments* of the Persecutors, tho' sure to die in the same Cause, and render'd other Christians more ready to suffer for CHRIST. No Reason to doubt of the Truth of this, when attested by *Coæval Monuments*.

I HAVE been the larger on this Argument, that I may shew how unreasonably and unjustly those have acted, who have severely censured Mr. *Dodwell* as one detracting from the Glory of Martyrs, and thereby the Honour of Christianity, in these last Dissertations.

BECAUSE one of the great Arguments which encouraged the Martyrs to suffer with so great Magnanimity, was, that *Martyrdom* was a *Second Baptism*, and procured the same Benefits. Mr. *Dodwell*, in his *Thirteenth Dissertation*, handles this Subject, and shews, that this was a received Opinion in the first Ages of the Church, and founded upon the *Holy Scriptures*. How this *Baptism of Blood* was frequently by the Fathers

pre

preferred to that of *Water*, considering the *Benefits* of it, the *Angels* its Ministers, and *God* Himself the Spectator of the Conflict, and Applauder of the Victory. The Ancients deduced this Doctrine of the Baptism of Martyrdom from *Luke* xii. 50. *Matth.* xx. 22. *CHRIST's* coming by *Water and Blood*, having both these coming out of His pierced Side. Concerning which he largely shews what Emphasis *S. John* lays on those in his Gospel and Epistle. *Profelytes* among the *Jews* admitted by *Circumcision*, *Baptism* and *Sacrifice*, Martyrdom answers the latter. Many *Initiations* among *Heathens* were by Emission of *Blood*; as also their *Pacts* and *Covenants*; and also *Expiations*; the Shedding of *Beasts Blood* in *Sacrifices* being in the room of *Mens Blood*, and an *Atonement* for their Offences; this being a received Maxim, *without Shedding of Blood there is no Remission*; yet they esteemed that of *Men* most satisfactory; from whence was the Rise of *Humane Sacrifices*: Even to the Baptism of *Water* this of *Blood* pertains, 1 *Joh.* v. 7, 8. By *Baptism* we enter into *Covenant* with *God*, and He with us: By our going into *Water* and rising thence, as we receive the *Benefits* of *CHRIST's Death and Resurrection*, so we profess and vow our *Readiness* to die in His Cause, in Hopes of a happy *Resurrection*, planted together in the *Likeness* of His *Death*. If for this vowing Martyrdom *God* grants so many *Benefits*, much more therefore for suffering Martyrdom itself. At Martyrdom the *Benefits* are conferred, they then immediately receiving a *Crown* of *Glory*. In the Baptism of *Water* Persons did not always obtain the Spirit, till the

the Imposition of the Apostles Hands, *Acts viii.* This is obtained in the *Baptism of Martyrdom.* Withall, the *Blood of Martyrs* was esteemed by the Ancients as the Blood of CHRIST Himself; and thence 'tis no wonder they ascribed such *Efficacy* to it; especially when shed in the *Cause*, and for the *Sake* of the *Church* itself, CHRIST'S *mystical Body.*

AT the End of these Dissertations, Mr. *Dodwell*, as an *Appendix*, has subjoined some Chronological Tables, chiefly the *Canons* of *Ptolemy*, with singular Industry collated with MSS. Also some *Fasti* out of MSS.

ALSO a Fragment of *Theon*, and another of the Emperor *Heraclius*, both on *Ptolemy's* Canons. Before which he has shewn the great Use of them; particularly from the different *Cycles* used by the *Alexandrians*, and other *Egyptians*; the first accounting by the *fix'd* Year, answering the *Julian*, accounting 365 Days, 6 Hours, and adding a Day every fourth Year: The latter the *Annus Vagus*, only consisting of 365 Days; and that thence came the great *Annus Canicularis*, after such a Revolution: How the *Christians* used the *former* Cycle, as best accommodated to the *Paschal*; and the *Heathens* continued (and that on account of their Religion) the *latter*: Besides several other useful Observations. As where to fix the first Year of the *Alexandrian* Cycle, from which they began their *Intercalation*; which was the fifth Year of *Augustus Cæsar*, wherein the Month *Thoth* fell exactly on the same Time in the *Annus Vagus* and *Fixus*: Concerning which learned Chronologers, before the Sight of this

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Fragment of *Theon*, were at so great a Loss. He shews when they fixed the Rise of the *Dog-Star*, and the Increase of *Nile* at the same Time; the Reason of the Name *Σείριος*, and the Country *Siriadica*; the *Natalis mundi* of *Solinus*; the Time of the Beginning of the new *Epocha*, in the first Year of *Antoninus Pius*, *An. Dom.* 138, and the Reasons of it. He afterwards discourses of *Ptolemy's* Canons, the Appellation of them, especially of the *Epocha* of the Year of *Nabonazar*; their *Pillars*, from whence they gathered their Astrological Observations, begun in *Chaldaea*, thence derived to *Egypt*. Of the following *Epochs*: That from the Death of *Alexander*; that of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*; that of *Augustus*, from the Death of *Cleopatra*. The fifth of that was the Beginning of the great *Canicular* Year, in which the *Thoth* of the *Alexandrian* and *Egyptian* Year agreed: And the Beginning of that from the New Moon of *Thoth*. The Reconciling of the Years of Kings Reigns with the Astronomical Years, which were *Vagi*. When *Cæsares* inferiour to *Augusti* began, *viz.* in *Trajan*. How this helps to reconcile the Time of Emperors Reigns, and their *Natales*; particularly with respect to *Hadrian*. *Ptolemy* living under *Antoninus Pius*, his *Canons* must end there: The Continuation is by others. Of what Authority these are in respect to the Reigns of the Emperors down to *Dioclesian*, Mr. *Dodwell* shews, by an accurate Account of the Time of each of them, and that these latter are not so exactly calculated as *Ptolemy's* Canons, these being not so skilful in Astronomy; which might happen from the constant

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Wars and Confusions at that Time in the *Roman* Empire, and particularly in *Egypt*: Which Study was revived in *Egypt* in *Constantine's* Time, when the fixing the *Paschal* Cycle was committed by the *Nicene* Fathers to the Care of the Bishops of *Alexandria*: And then shews on what Reason the *Epocha* of *Dioclesian* had the Preference.

By this *Appendix* Mr. *Dodwell's* singular Skill, even in the abstrusest Parts of *Chronology*, may be discerned; tho' a fuller Evidence thereof appears in other Performances of his, especially his Book *de Cyclis*: Of which more afterwards.

WHAT Mr. *Dodwell* wrote of this Kind, minds me of the Intercourse he had with several learned Persons employed in the Study of *Chronology*, viz. the learned Dr. *William Lloyd*, now Bishop of *Worcester*, whom I find acquainting him by Letters what he was doing in that Study, when his Episcopal Employment would permit him to prosecute it: With the learned *Noris*, (who succeeded *Schelstraet* as Keeper of the Vatican Library) after promoted to be a Cardinal; with Monsieur *Pagi*, and others.

MR. *Dodwell* set a great Value on *Lactantius de mortibus Persecutorum*, in that it discovered several Historical Passages, no where else to be met with, especially in the Time of the Tenth Persecution under *Dioclesian*. Hence he was willing, when it came to be printed at *Oxford*, with the other Works of *Lactantius*, to clear one Expression therein, which puzzled other learned Persons, *Seet. XVII. per circuitum ripæ Strigæ Nicomediam venit.* Mr. *Dodwell* shews, that
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Striga is first used for the Limit of a Roman Camp, and thence for the Borders of *Fields*, and Limits of *Countries*: That *Rivers* were convenient for all these Ends: That as *Euphrates* was the Boundary of the Roman Empire towards the *Parthians*, and the *Rhine* towards the *Germans*, so was the *Danube* of the *Illyrian* Province; which latter he proves, and shews how Garrisons were placed thereon to repell the *barbarous* Nations; how this River was properly *Striga*; that *Strigonium*, that was situate thereon, received its Name from thence: And withall, because Passage by *Water* was the easiest for infirm Persons, *Dioclesian* made Choice of it in his Chronical Weakness to go to *Nicomedia*, in part by the *Danube*, in part by the *Euxine* Sea, tho' it was (*per Circuitum*) by taking a Compass about.

C H A P. XIV.

His Book de Sacerdotio Laicorum.



IN the Year 1685; Mr. *Dodwell* published his Treatise of the *Priesthood of Laicks*. The Occasion of his Writing thereof, seems to be this. Mr. *William Baxter*, a learned Person, but one not very well affected to the Church of England, translated *Hugh Grotius's* Dissertation concerning the Administration

ministration of the *Lord's Supper* where there were no *Pastors*, and prefixes thereto the Title of *Anti-Dodwellism*; probably because it was contrary to what Mr. *Dodwell* had asserted in his Book of *Schism*, and its Defences. At first Mr. *Dodwell* only thought of publishing *Petavius's* Answer to it, and after, to add *Cloppenburg's* Answer to the Second Part of that Dissertation, by the Advice of a learned Friend. But finding this latter not satisfactory, and *Petavius's*, tho' going for the most part on right Principles, yet, in that it defended the *Baptism of Women*, would justly displease the Protestant Reader: He undertakes the Work anew, which produced this learned Treatise.

Grotius maintains, that in Case of Necessity, where there are no Gospel Ministers or Priests, there *Laicks* may administer the *Lord's Supper*. And this he chiefly defends, from a Passage of *Tertullian*, in *Exhort. ad Castit.* Where he shews the Unlawfulness of Second Marriages, even in *Laicks*, and that on this Reason, because they are *Priests*; and this he endeavours to prove *Laicks* are; as from *Rev. i. 6.* so from the *Right* they have to baptize, and to administer the *Eucharist*, where there are no *Priests* to do it. And *Grotius* argues, that seeing *Tertullian* brings this as a *Medium* to prove what he asserts, that this was a Thing owned at that Time in the Church.

IN Answer hereto, Mr. *Dodwell* grants, that *Tertullian* meant an External Priesthood, and by *Tinction* and *Oblation*, Baptism and the *Lord's Supper*; tho' taken in another Sense by some of
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Grotius's Adversaries : And that *Tertullian* owns and supposes, that the Ministration of these properly belongs to *Priests* ; and particularly that of *Baptism*, tho' permitted in the *Church of Rome* to *Women*, contrary to the declared Judgment of the *Primitive Church*, which appropriated the Ministration of this to *Priests* ; (as he shews the Heathens did their Lustrations) as also that of the *Eucharist*, which being of greater Eminence, must certainly belong to the Office of *Priests*, truly so called ; and not to such, who having some Shadow of that Office, are sometimes so styled : And that this was *Tertullian's* own Sentiment, and supposed in his Reasoning. And here *Mr. Dodswell* refutes the Interpretation of *Tertullian*, which his Friend *Dr. Sherlock* had given in Defence of *Bishop Stillingfleet*, and shews, that Gospel Ministers are *Priests*, tho' the Name *Priest* in the *New Testament* be chiefly attributed to *CHRIST*, the Archetypal High-Priest ; as in other Things in the like Case, of which he produces Instances, how Types and Antitypes have the same Name ; and how the *Gospel Priesthood* is preferable to the *Jewish*, and consequently a *True Priesthood*. And here (in adverting on a Passage of *S. Augustin*) shews what is meant by *CHRIST* being the *One Mediator*, and that as the *Jewish High-Priest*, so *Gospel Ministers* may be styled *Mediators* : And also *Priests*, when by them is represented and offered to *God* that *Sacrifice* of *CHRIST*, which He Himself offers up immediately to the Father in Heaven ; this of the *Eucharist* being a more lively *Type* thereof than the *Jewish Sacrifices* were, and they herein repre-

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senting CHRIST the Great High-Priest; the *Jewish* Sacrifices being Types of CHRIST to come, the *Christian* Sacrifice the Type of CHRIST already come.

CHAP. II. This premised, Mr. *Dodwell* (having adverted on some too large Concessions of the *Church's* Advocates) shews, that *Tertullian* here is no *Witness* of a Matter of Fact, but only a *Disputer*, who argues from what he supposes the Right of a *Laick*, in Case of Necessity; and hence that this was not a *Doctrine* of the *Church*, but a *private Opinion* of *Tertullian*: That his Words *Offers & Tinguis* only imply a *Right*, which he supposes the *Laick* has to administer the Eucharist and Baptism, and not the *Fact*. Thus the Present Tense is used by Writers of Laws, and by *Tertullian* himself. He takes not this for a Thing granted, and therefore makes it his Business to prove it. His Argument supposes this to be the proper Work, and Right of Priests, when he endeavours to prove that *Laicks* are *Priests*, seeing that in Cases of Necessity, they *might* baptize, and also consecrate the Lord's Supper: But never asserts here, or elsewhere, when he writes on this Subject, that they *did* do it, or that this was a *Practice* of, or *allowed* by, the *Church*. This *Exhort. ad Cast.* was written before he was a *Montanist*. *Tertullian*, well versed in the *Roman Laws*, proceeds according to them; and knowing *Rome*, as other Commonwealths, consisted of a *Senate*, of which there was a President, and the *People*, of *Ordo* and *Plebs*. [Concerning which Mr. *Dodwell* discourses, that there was *Ordo* distinct from *Plebs*, and shews how

how little that serves the Cause of *Independents*, or *Presbyterians*; the Church being chiefly formed into the Model of the *Roman Commonwealth*, then under an *Emperor*, whose Power he declares, and that without his Consent neither the *Plebiscita*, nor *Senatus consulta*, passed into Laws; and hence that this Model is most favourable to the Power of Bishops.] He proceeds to explain that Passage of *Tertullian*, insisted on by *Grotius*; that there were *Ordines* in the Christian Priesthood, and that the Government in the Church was founded on the Priesthood, by the Power of administering the Holy Sacraments; and that *Tertullian* supposes, that if the Laicks had any Power, it proceeded from their having some Share in the *Priesthood*; that since the Church was but *One Body*, of which the *Laity* was *One Part*, they must (as in other *Commonwealths*) have their *Share* of Power, and consequently the *Sacerdotal*, the Original of all Church Power, and thence be Partakers of the Benefits that arise from thence. That they are *Priests*, he proves from *Rev. i. 6.* And then follows, *Differentiam inter Ordinem & Plebem constituit Ecclesie Autoritas, & honor per Ordinis confessum sanctificatus.* Mr. Dodwell explains this, and shews, that the Church's Authority resided in the *Bishop*, who presided in the Presbytery, or *Conseffus*, without whose Consent no Decree was enacted, nor any Affair regularly managed, no, not by the *Presbyters* themselves. Tho' by them, [the Presbytery, *per Ordinis Con- sessum*,] the Honour of the Church was maintained as sacred. As the Inferior Clergy paid a Reverence to the Bishop, so did the Laity to the Pres-

byters and Deacons, these *sitting* while the Laity *stood*. *Sanctificatus* denotes, that the Clergy's Rights were so *sacred*, that it was esteemed *prophane*, and severely punished by God, when any presumed to execute such Offices which were appropriate to the Clergy. As against *Corah*, the *Beth-shemites*, *Uzzah*, and *Uzziab*; even at that Time, when there were Magistrates who had Power to punish such Offences. The *Confessus*, the *Sitting* of the Clergy, shew'd they were superior to them that did only *stand* and *assist*. This illustrated from *S. Clement's Epist. ad Corinth*. This Authority was from GOD Himself. *Constitutions* are properly what are appointed by the Apostles. Mr. *Dodwell* having premised this, shews, that *Tertullian's* Words are brought in by him to obviate this *Objection*: How can this *Priesthood* be allowed to *Laicks*, when the *Usage* of the *Church*, which puts so great a Difference betwixt the Clergy and them, has debarred them from it? To this he *answers*, That this Matter of *Fact* (owned by him) deprives them *not* of their *Right*: They do not make use of it thro' *Incapacity*, but for the Preservation of the Honour and Authority due to their Superiors. To prove which Right, he adds, that where there is no Presbytery (*Confessus*) & *offers* & *tinguis*, & *Sacerdos es tibi solus*; where there are none to whom this Honour and Obedience is due, and hence no Danger of Violating the Peace or Authority of the Church, *thou* (who art a *Laick*) *makest Oblation* in the Eucharist, and *baptizest*, and hereby comest to enjoy the Use of thy *Sacerdotal* Right; *viz.* in this Case of *Necessity*, in which

which he alone allows it, but not in *Clave errante*, or Male-Administration of Ecclesiastical Superiors, in that this subverts the Discipline of the Church, which *Tertullian* would have secured. But from hence we cannot infer, that this was ever practised. *Tertullian's* Argument proceeding not from Matter of *Fact*, but of *Right*. Mr. *Dodwell* explains that of *Tertullian*, *ubi tres Ecclesia, licet Laici*, viz. that no fewer than Three could represent a *College*, and therefore were not the *Sacerdotal College*, or could validly act in their Name, and these to be *Priests*; and this in Opposition to One Priest alone; Christians using the Word *Ecclesia* in the same Sense that Lawyers used that of *Collegium*, and supposes that there can be no Church without Priests; which is supposed in *Tertullian's* Arguing. That when Three *Laicks* make a Church, they must consequently be *Priests*. Tho' in making these *Metaphorical Priests* sufficient to this Purpose, neither *S. Ignatius*, *Cyprian*, or *Jerome*, agreed with *Tertullian*. The Reason of the Thing shews this; a Church cannot be without a *Clergy*, in that it is a Body united by *Covenants* and *Sacraments*, which can be administered only by *Clergymen*. But *Tertullian* endeavours to prove, that Three Laymen would make a Church, in that there is no Respect of Persons with God, and therefore a Laick's Ministry was equally acceptable to God as a Priests. Here Mr. *Dodwell* explains this προσωποληψία, to manifest the Weakness of *Tertullian's* Argument. *Tertullian's* Endeavour to prove this, shews it was denied. Mr. *Dodwell* shews, that if this be understood of Juridical Assemblies, to which,

which, in several Cases, the Laity was admitted, and their Judgments asked, that *Tertullian's* Reasonings would not hold; in that upon a Failure of the Clergy, the Power devolved not on the Laity: Nor was the Admission of the Laity to counsel, a Right which they could challenge, but a prudent Concession in *S. Cyprian's* Time.

CHAP. III. Mr. *Dodwell* answers another Passage of *Tertullian*, in his Book *de Coronâ Mil.* which *Grotius* had produced, viz. *Eucharistie Sacramentum, & tempore victûs, & Omnibus mandatum est à Domino, etiam antelucanis cœtibus, nec ab aliorum manu quàm Præsidentium sumimus.* Where *Grotius* supposes, that *Tertullian* asserts, that CHRIST, in the Institution of the Lord's Supper, commanded All Persons to consecrate the Lord's Supper, and that it was an Innovation in *Tertullian's* Time, the Receiving it only from the Hands of Priests; (for them he understands by *Præsidentes*) when CHRIST commanded All, and therefore Laicks to do it. Here Mr. *Dodwell* shews, that by *Præsidentes*, Bishops are to be understood, by the Importance of the Word, and as it is used by *Tertullian*, and others: By All, not Laicks, but the *Presbyters*, over whom the Bishop presided: That at first, the Bishop only consecrated the Elements, which were sent to them that met not in the same Place with him: That even *Baptism* was not administered without a Commission from the Bishop; the same likewise of the *Eucharist*. He therefore thinks, that *Tertullian* supposed that CHRIST, by the Word *ποιείτε, do this*, commanded the Ministration of that Sacrament; that hereby He gave Commission

sion to all the Apostles equally to consecrate the Elements; and that this was an Innovation, when the President or Bishop *only* consecrated, (for he shews, that must be meant by taking it *from the Hands* of the Bishop;) tho', indeed, in that first Sacrament CHRIST represented the Bishop. A Passage of *S. Augustin* puts a Case of a *Laick's* baptizing in a Case of Necessity. But this *Saint* questions the Lawfulness of it; and hence it supposes, that it was never appointed or approved by the Church. If this of *Baptism* was, (tho' never in the *African Church*) yet this reaches not the Case of the *Eucharist*. This he shews, in the Case of the *Lapsi* in *S. Cyprian's* Time. Could *Laicks* have done it, the *Lapsi* needed not to have raised such a Stir to have received it in the Church. Mr. *Dodwell* shews, how the Case of *Cæsaria* in *S. Basil*, produced by *Petavius*, signifies nothing in the Case of *Tertullian*.

MR. *Dodwell* having shewn, that what *Tertullian* asserts was from his own Reasonings, and that the Matter of *Fact*, or the Sentence of the Church for this, could not be concluded from his Words; comes to shew, that supposing that was granted, it would be of no Service to them who separate from the Church of *England*: In that there were many things in the Primitive Church, which the Apostles approved not of; and many things only approved of in particular Cases and Circumstances. Such were the Disorders of the Prophets, taxed by the Apostle, tho' for some time tolerated in the Church of *Corinth*. What was practised, while there were extraordinary Gifts in the Church, is not to be drawn
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into Example, when those Gifts cease: If *Laicks*, who were *Prophets*, did εὐχαριστεῖν, administer the *Eucharist*, (so that Word probably signifies, 1 Cor. xiv.) it doth not follow, that now, when the Spirit of Prophecy is ceased, *Laicks* should do it. The Reason of which was, that as yet Christians were not withdrawn from the *Jewish* Synagogue. This afforded the Apostles Opportunity of preaching to, and converting of the *Jews*, to whom they first preached, and were wont to do it in their Synagogues. Tho' ordinarily this was permitted only to Persons of the Tribe of *Levi*; yet this was never denied to *Prophets*, and hence not to CHRIST, who appeared as such: And not only *Preaching*, but that of offering *Sacrifice*, tho' the peculiar Office of Priests, was performed by *Prophets*, by *Samuel* and *Elijah*. Our Saviour was owned as ὁ προφητῆς the *Prophet* then expected, and was declared such by the Apostles: And the *Apostles* themselves were manifested to be such by the Descent of the Spirit on them, and thereby the Fulfilling of *Joel's* Prophecy, and consequently had, in the Opinion of the *Jews*, a Right to *Preach*, *Acts* xv. 32. From this, misunderstood, proceeded the Confusions in the Church of *Corinth*; many prophesying together, and *Women* teaching publicly. *Moses* was God's *Prophet*, and *Aaron* *Moses's* *Prophet*, by His declaring to the People the Messages *Moses* had received from God; expressed by being His *Mouth*; the Reason of which is there assign'd. The *Christians* at first not separating from the *Jewish* Synagogues, were esteemed only as a Sect (αἵρεσις, *Acts* xxiv. 5.)

of the *Jews*; tho', as the *Essens*, they had peculiar Assemblies for their own Worship; in which those, that had the extraordinary Gifts of the Spirit, and immediate Call from GOD, ministered, answerably to what *Prophets* did among the *Jews*, whilst the *Christians* were of one Body with the *Jews*; at which Time, there were no Ecclesiastical Officers constituted in the *Christian Church*; particularly, not in that of *Corinth*, in which the Censures were alone inflicted by the Apostles Authority. When the *Jews* obstinately opposed *Christianity*, the Apostles first withdrew from them, *Acts* xiii. 51. and appointed *Presbyters* in Churches; (presently after, 'twas reveal'd to S. Peter, that the *Gentiles* were not to be esteemed unclean;) tho' they withdrew not wholly, they preaching afterwards in their Synagogues. Hence *Presbyters* were placed gradually, first in some, then in other Churches: Tho' the Church of *Jerusalem* comes not into this Number; its Case being singular, in that it continued Communion with the *Temple*, and to which Alms were sent as due, from other Churches, as Tribute by the *Hellenist Jews* in other Countries was to the *Temple*. In this Church the Apostles presided as a College, and under them the *Prophets*: Hence other Churches were subject to the Church of *Jerusalem*, in which were the Apostles, as well as *Prophets*; which last were only in other Churches: And in which, by the Apostles, Decrees were made, to the Observance of which all Churches were obliged. Hence, as the *Jewish High-Priesthood* was Hereditary, so the Succession of the Bishops of *Jerusalem* seems to be, they being chosen out of our Saviour's Kindred. [The Priest-

Priesthood was in other Nations Hereditary.] During which Time, that Church was *superiour* to, but after that Time only *equal* with, other Churches. In which Church, before their Departure from the Synagogue, the *Presbyters* were appointed not for the Government, but to take care of the *Poor*, and for visiting the *Sick*. After this, Mr. *Dodwell* shews the gradual Departure made from the *Jewish* Synagogue, and the Settlement of the Government of the Church, digested by Years; of which, at the End of Chap. 3, there's a *Chronological Table*. He shews, that Government among the *Jews*, was managed in their *Synagogues* chiefly, and in the *Temple* only in some Cases of universal Concernment: That the *Christian Church* succeeds to both Rights, and these of the *Temple* are not confined to *One Place*, as the *Jews* were to *Jerusalem*; that they are properly *Sacerdotal*, and hence, what is acted in *One Place* is valid in *all*, (which was not so in the *Jewish Synagogues*) such being judged united to *CHRIST*, and Partakers of the Gospel-Covenant in every Church, who are received so by any *One*. He shews, that after Governors were constituted in Churches, the *Prophets*, such as had these *extempore* Revelations and Motions, were subject to the Governors: Which appears from *S. Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians*, after *Presbyters* were settled in that Church, whom the *Pneumatici*, tho' *Laicks*, insulted, and cast out, under the Pretext and Title of their Spiritual Gifts. *St. Clement* vindicates the Cause of the *Presbyters* against the *Gifted-Men*, shewing, by the Pattern of the *Jewish Church*, the Subordination there

there ought to be of *Laicks*, to them that were in the Priestly Office. By this, *Tertullian's* Words are to be explained, *Ecclesiam esse*, &c. that it is the Church which makes the Difference, *inter Ordinem & Plebem*; i. e. that the Church, as 'tis a Political Body constituted under Governors, supposes a Distinction betwixt the Clergy who govern, and the *Laity* who are governed by 'em, and that the first alone have Authority to minister in Sacerdotal Offices: That tho' at first, all Prophets or Gifted-Persons might minister them, yet when some (who were thus Gifted, and hence discerned fit for the Office, or received Gifts upon their Ordination) were *ordained* to minister; these became *superiour* to unordained Prophets, and by vertue hereof *sitting* in the Church, were (*sanctificati*) reputed relatively *Holy*, had a *Sanctity* which *Laicks* had no Share of, or a Power to administer Holy Offices: And that *Tertullian* speaks only of these *Laicks* that had extraordinary Gifts, and not of ordinary *Laicks*, who, tho' *Kings*, as *Uzziah*, had no Authority to perform Sacerdotal Offices. As for the *Laicks* having Authority in Councils, (as *Acts* xv.) it proceeded from the Revelations that GOD gave even to them; so that the Authority their Sentence had, was not as it came from *themselves*, but from GOD who inspired them; which Inspirations being ceased, such Authority cannot now be justly challenged by 'em.

CHAP. IV. Mr. *Dodwell* considers the Case of *Frumentius*, urged by *Grotius*, who being yet a *Laick*, built Churches among the *Ethiopians*, and assembled with *Christians*, who traded there, all
Laicks,

Laicks, and joined in Prayer. Here he observes, (1.) That there was no *sacerdotal Act*, only *Prayer*; and nothing can be meant farther, by *Theodoret's* *λειτουργία*, not to be confined to *Sacrifices*, when it properly denotes *Service*, and often that of *Hymns*, which was the most ancient Divine Service: And that not alone among the *Jews* and *Heathens*, but also among *Christians*, Eph. v. 19. Yea, afterwards, when extraordinary Gifts ceased, even down to the Time of *Fruventius*, and these sung by *Laicks* in *Churches*: Neither was Singing *Hymns* then esteemed an Office appropriated to *Priests*, but performed even by *Women*: Why then not by *Fruventius*, and the Merchants that joined with him? Especially, when *Theodoret* himself uses the Word *λειτουργία* for *Psalmody*. (2.) Another thing performed in *Churches*, was *Teaching*, both by reading the Holy Scriptures, and Preaching. This might be performed by *Laicks*: Especially, when only instructing *Catechumens*. Permitted to *Origen* while a *Laick*, even by *Demetrius* Bishop of *Alexander*. Neither does *Rufinus* his Expression, that these Men acted according to the Custom of the Romans, imply, that in their Assemblies they celebrated the *Eucharist*, but the contrary; in that the Romans did not celebrate it, but on the *Lord's Day*; nor any time when *Catechumens* were present, nor in any other but *consecrated Churches*; nor at all, but when they had a *Priest* to minister, which they looked on as necessary.

CHAP. V. The Story of *Petronilla's* consecrating the *Eucharist*, Mr. *Dodwell* proves to be fabulous,

bulous, as whatever else is told of her. Ancient *Martyrologies* speak nothing of Virgins. *Domitilla* was the Wife of *Clemens*: Her Story cleared. The Circumstances of all the Story of *Petronilla* improbable. However, the *Martyrologies* do not affirm, that the *Eucharist* was consecrated by her, but eaten by her, which might have been before consecrated by a Priest.

CHAP. VI. *Philip* baptized before *Presbyters* were settled in the Church, as a *Prophet*; however, he was a *Deacon*, to which Office the inferior Ministration, ὑπηρετικὴ λειτουργία, did belong; and particularly, that of *Water Baptism*, that of the *Spirit* being reserved to higher Offices. This last could not be performed by *Philip*, but the *Apostles* were sent to conferr it.

CHAP. VII. The Canon of the Council of *Laodicæa* forbids *Sub-Deacons* to give the Bread, and, ποτήριον εὐλογεῖν, to bless the Cup. Hence *Grotius* inferrs, that *Sub-Deacons* did then consecrate; but the Council only permits this to *Deacons*. The Granting this, is inconsistent with what *Tertullian* and *Grotius* own to be proper to Priests. Mr. *Dodwell* thinks εὐλογεῖν may be put for εὐλογίας, and then this Canon forbids the *Sub-Deacons* to distribute the Wine (afore consecrated by *Presbyters*) to the Communicants, allowing this only to *Deacons*. If that Reading will not be admitted, Mr. *Dodwell* (having shewn, that this Blessing the Wine might be meant of the Dedication to God, as the First-Fruits, and Wine only mention'd as that which excites to Cheerfulness, &c.) thinks, it may denote that inferior Ministry in which the Deacon assisted the *Presbyter*,

ter, who used to say, *Sir, bless, or desire GOD to bless, &c.* Otherwise it may be understood, that when there was a Blessing of all the First-Fruits in the *Prothesis*, another of that Part thereof which was set on the *Altar*, which was the Consecration; it was the first of these that is meant in the Canon.

CHAP. VIII. *Grotius* argues from the Canon of the Council of *Ancyra*, which decrees concerning *Deacons* that had baptized, and after were Penitents, that they should retain the Honour [of that Name] but not be permitted afterward, ἀναφέρειν the Bread or Wine, nor κηρύσσειν. By the last Word is not meant *Preaching*, but Directing the People (and also the Priests) what they were to perform, that being the Work of the *Deacons*. As for ἀναφέρειν, it is to be understood of the Blessing in the *Prothesis*, or διακονικὸν, or of the bringing the Elements from thence to the Altar, there to be consecrated, which belonged at first (tho' after altered) to the Office of the *Deacon*.

As for that Fact of the *Christians* at *Malabar*, who, when their Bishops and Priests were killed by Persecutors, got a *Deacon* to consecrate the *Eucharist*; we cannot infer the Validity of it, in that, being ignorant Persons, they were unacquainted with the Practice of the ancient Church. Neither can it be asserted from hence, that they retained the Practice of the *Apostolick* Age, because, in that Age, there was no such Necessity, when there were *Apostles, Prophets, &c.* for any but *Priests*, to consecrate.

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As for the Council of *Arles*, which forbids Deacons *offerre*; (1.) This may be understood of the *Oblation* at the *Prothesis*, which the *Church* in these Western Parts might take from the *Deacons*, tho' it was permitted by the Fathers at *An-tyra*; it being an *indifferent* thing, and therefore in the power of the Council to determine what should be done in their own Districts. Or, (2.) it might be understood of administering the *Eucharist*, that as rural *Deacons* did baptize, (tho' this did properly belong to the *Bishop*) provided they brought the Child to be confirmed by the *Bishop*; so they, in Cases of Necessity, when no *Priests* were at hand, might give the Elements, which had been before consecrated, (and were delivered to the *Deacons* to be given to absent *Christians*) to dying Persons; and, possibly, their Benediction of the Elements in the *Prothesis* might embolden them, where they thought Necessity and Charity would excuse them, to perform the Eucharistical Consecration; but for as much as this, in truth, gave them no Right to do it, it is hence condemned by that Council.



CHAP. XV.

*Dissertations added to those of
Bishop Pearson's, on the Suc-
cession of the Bishops of Rome.*



S Mr. *Dodwell* resided much at *S. Asaph*, so sometimes at *Chester*, at the Time when *Dr. John Pearson* was Bishop of that Diocese, a Person eminent for his vast *Learning*, which he employed for the Benefit of *CHRIST's Church*; and among other things, for his singular and accurate Skill in *Chronology*, which he has manifested to the World in his admirably judicious *Annales Cyprianici*; besides what he has discovered in his (*Vindic. Ignat. Epist.*) Discourse of the *Valentinian* Σύλη, and the Progress of the *Gnostick* Heresy, and of the *Succession of the Bishops of Rome*, presently to be mention'd. By the Affinity of their Studies, and the Comprehensiveness of their Learning, there could not but be a great Endear'dness betwixt this learned Prelate and Mr. *Dodwell*, and also an Acquaintance with the Bishop's Relations. Among others, with *Dr. Thane*, the Bishop's Kinsman; who, after his Lordship's Death, being desirous, for the Benefit of the learned World, to publish the Bishop's Lectures on the *Acts of the Apostles*,

Apostles, which he read when *Margaret* Professor in *Cambridge*; and also his learned Discourse on the first Bishops of *Rome*, which he found in some places imperfect: He knew not any Person to whom he could better apply himself, for filling up the *Lacuna*, and the adding of what might render the Work complete, and serviceable to the World, than his Friend Mr. *Dodwell*. Who accordingly, being willing to gratify his Friend, oblige the Publick, and consult the Honour of the deceased Author, undertook it. Dr. *Batteley's Imprimatur* bears Date, Sept. 9. 1686. By which we may understand, at what Time Mr. *Dodwell* employed himself in that Work.

IN his Additions to what the Bishop had written, Mr. *Dodwell* has a Discourse to shew, that *Theophil. Antioch.* the Author of the Discourse *ad Autolycum*, was not *Theophilus* Bishop of *Antioch*. Concerning which, he afterwards wrote a particular Dissertation: Of which in its Place.

HE wrote another, to shew what *S. Jerome* meant by that Passage, which the Enemies of Episcopacy make such use of, viz. "That the Churches were governed by a Council of Presbyters at first, till Divisions arose, &c." That this could not be meant of the Time of *Victor*; that there were other Schisms in the Church before that Time; that this has respect to the Divisions in *S. Paul's* Time, which *S. Jerome* mentions, who said, *I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas*. Mr. *Dodwell* shews, that the Testimonies which *Salmasius* brings out of *Epiphanius*, *Polycarp*, and *Ireneus*, do him no Ser-

vice : Nor even those out of the Epistles of *Pius*, or *Victor*, which Mr. *Dodwell* proves to be counterfeited : Neither can the *Presbyterians* produce the Authority of any *ancient* Author, that makes Presbyters of equal Power with Bishops. If this was the Mind of *S. Jerome*, as the *Presbyterians* suppose, yet the Reasoning is weak, and founded on several Suppositions which are manifestly false ; (a).

MR. *Dodwell* has another Discourse, wherein he shews, how little *Eusebius* was acquainted with *Latin* Authors, or Affairs in the *West* : And how long after his *Chronicon* he wrote his *History* : And that he had no new Supplies when he wrote the latter.

MR. *Dodwell* has another Dissertation concerning the Time of the younger *Agrippa's* Death ; that he lived not to the Time of *Trajan* ; and the Reason why some Writers referr so many things to the third Year of *Trajan*.

ON occasion of the Reasons which make Writers place *S. Clement* much later than what there is any good Authority for, viz. the Veiling of *Domitilla*, Mr. *Dodwell* has an excellent Discourse, to shew, that *Celibacy* and *Virginity* were not so much esteemed in the First Ages of the Church, as in the following Times, the Primitive Christians having a high Honour for *Marriage*, and that this was not forbidden to Persons in the Sacred Ministry : That *Virgins* were among the *Widows* of the Church : That there were no *Vows* of *Virginity*,

(a) What *S. Jerome's* Thoughts were in this thing, the Reader may find in my *History* of the Government of the Primitive Church, Chap. XIV.

nor any *Veiling* of professed Virgins, till some Ages after *S. Clement's* Time. He withall shews, how little Foundation there is for the Story of that excellent Person *S. Clement's* Banishment to *Chersona*, nor of his Martyrdom: And whence this Report probably arose, viz. from confounding this *Clement* with another *Clement* the Consul, Kinsman to *Domitian*, under whom he suffered.

MR. Dodwell has likewise a learned *Chronological* Discourse about *Tertullian's* *Epocha*, in his First Book against *Marcion*, c. 19. and this different from the Bishop of *Chester's*; reading not Twelfth, but Fifteenth Year of *Tiberius*, to the Time wherein *Marcion* first divulged his Heresy, which was the First Year of *Pius* Bishop of *Rome*, (to which Bishoprick *Marcion* had aspired, but failed in his Expectation) and in the Tenth Year of *Hadrian*.

BUT besides these *Discourses*, which were for the most part designed to supply what was left imperfect by the learned Bishop of *Chester*, in his Dissertation concerning the *Succession* of the First Bishops of *Rome*; *Mr. Dodwell* has one peculiar distinct *Dissertation* on the same Subject, which he carries down to the Time where the Bishop begins his *Cyprianick* Annals. He takes Notice, that my Lord of *Chester's* great Design in that Undertaking, was farther to clear what he had argued in his Vindication of *S. Ignatius's* Epistles; that, supposing *Σίγν* in *Ignatius* had been meant of the *Valentinian's* *Sige*, (which he shews it was not) yet that would make nothing against *Ignatius's* Epistles; in that, if not *Valentinus* himself, yet those who taught the same heretical Doctrines,

were as ancient as *Ignatius* himself: And this he makes out, by shewing the Times of the Bishops of *Rome*, under whom they published their Heresies, they choosing *Rome* for that purpose, it being the *Imperial City*, to which People from all Parts resorted, that they might thereby the easilier propagate their poisonous Doctrines. Mr. *Dodwell* therefore resumes the Subject without any such particular Respect, in order to clear that Part of *Chronology*, which is of itself *difficult*, and rendered still more so by the unsuccessful Attempts of such as have undertaken to settle it. He shews, how late the Assigning of Twenty five Years to *S. Peter* at *Rome*, was; how different the Account of the *Beginning*, and consequently, the *Ending* of those Years, and thence the Time of *St. Peter's* Martyrdom, was; how the Difference of *Eusebius's* History, and his *Chronicon*, and the various Readings of the latter, may be reconciled; also in digesting the Times of *Linus*, *Anencletus*, (*Cletus* is not to be found in any ancient Monuments) and *Clemens*, [who were all constituted Bishops by the Apostles themselves;] how answering to the Times of the *Roman* Emperors, (in reckoning of whose Reigns *Eusebius* is less accurate) and fitting these to *Prosper's* *Cycli*; as also in reckoning the Times of the following Bishops of *Rome* to the Time of *Fabian*, and in reconciling the different Accounts given of them, as near as might be to that of *Eusebius*.

HIS next Undertaking is, to shew the Succession of the Bishops of *Alexandria*, in settling which, *Eusebius* had great Advantages, and hence deserves

deserves Credit above any other; of what Use this is, in respect to the Succession of the Bishops of *Rome*, even where *Eusebius* was mistaken; and also by knowing the Affairs of the *Church*, as they fell out in the Times of each of them. This he brings down to the *Tenth* Persecution, and has affixed a *Chronological Table*, to shew how (according to *Eusebius*) the Times of the *Alexandrian* Bishops, and the *Roman* Emperors, were concurrent.

HAVING dispatched *Eusebius's* Account of the Succession of Bishops, Mr. *Dodwell* shews what Account the Writers of the *Western Church* give hereof. Having named one written about the End of the Eighth Century, followed by the common *Martyrologies*, who precisely tell the Parents, *Sepultures*, the very Day of their Death, and every Circumstance of the Persons they name, besides their *Decrees*, &c. A second written in *Justinian's* Time, not so particular; both which betray themselves: He proceeds to a third *Catalogue* written under *Liberius*, wherein are only the Names and Times of the *Popes*, with those of the concurrent *Emperors* and *Consuls*. Which neither names, nor indeed had any ancient *Monuments* to confirm what is there deliver'd; nay, delivers that which is repugnant to Coæval *Monuments*; that inserts *Cletus*, distinct from *Anencletus*, with the Years and Days of his *Pontificate*. Together with other Things that betray the *Imposture*. He shews, that the *Fountain* of all the *Latin Catalogues* was that Author who wrote under *Alexander Severus*, (most of which is lost) who seems to follow the *Paschal Cycle* of *Hippolytus*,

lytus, and is followed by him who wrote the *Paschal Computation*, published in the Oxford Edition of *S. Cyprian*. That later Writers only continued the *Chronicon* of *Africanus*, fitting there-to (as well as they could) the *Emperors* and *Consuls*; but so, as to render all *confused* and *uncertain*.

HE then shews how the *Latins* (as the *Greeks* had done before *Eusebius*) reckoned the Death of *CHRIST* in the Fifteenth Year of *Tiberius*, when the two *Gemini* were *Consuls*, and from thence began *S. Peter's* 25 Years being Bishop at *Rome*, and his being martyr'd in the first Year of *Nero*. How, according to this, they digested the Times of *Linus* and *Clemens*, whom several reckon'd next to *Linus*; others, who inserted *Anacletus* (or rather *Anencletus*) betwixt them. How *Linus* and *Anencletus* were before *S. Peter* suffer'd; *Clemens* ordained Bishop of *Rome* by the *Apostles*; before whose Time, tho' there were many *Christians*, yet not a *constituted Church*, not yet separate from the *Jewish Synagogue*. How different the Account *Irenaeus* gives of the Bishops of *Rome*, is from that of later Writers.

HE afterwards shews how the *Latins* continued the Succession of the *Popes* down to *Fabian*: What Confusion the Inserting of *Cletus* produced, whom some set before, some after, *Clemens*: And on what Suppositions following Accounts may be reconciled. And then the Account of *Eutychius*; wherein it agrees with that of *Eusebius*, and with that of the *Latins*; and wherein it *disagrees*. And then considers the Reasonings of them all, and in what respects pre-
carious:

carious: And proceeds to give his *own* Account, so far as could be gather'd from ancient Monuments, *Chap. II, &c.* Of the Time of the first Bishops, in, and immediately after, the Time of the Apostles, *viz. Linus, Anencletus, Clemens,* and then of those who succeeded them. When he comes to the Time of *Soter* and *Eleutherus*, and there *dissents* from the Bishop of *Chester*, he propounds his own Opinion with singular *Humility* and *Modesty*, with a *submissive* Deference to this excellent Person, whose Opinion in this Particular he opposes, and with a due *Acknowledgment* of the singular Learning and Accomplishments of that very great Man.

WHEN the Time of *Eleutherus* might be known by the Time of the *Persecution* at *Lyons* and *Vienna*, the Martyrs of those Cities writing to that good Man, who probably had been then some time Bishop of *Rome*: And the Time of the *Persecution* is to be known by the Time of the *Roman* Emperor, under whom the *Persecution* happened. Mr. *Dodwell*, from several Circumstances, supposes it to be (not on the Seventeenth, but) on the Seventh Year of *Marcus Antoninus*. But when it might be argued, that this happened when *Marcus* was *Augustus* alone, in that the *Rescript* in Behalf of *Atticus* (one of those Christians there imprisoned, and a *Roman* Citizen) bears only the Name of *Marcus*, tho' *Lucius* was at that Time *Augustus* with him, and at that Time returned out of *Parthia*, and therefore his Name ought to have been joined with that of *Marcus*, as was customary in Imperial *Edicts*, had it then been written. Mr. *Dodwell* (to clear this)

this) has a learned Discourse of the *Supreme* Power of the *Augusti*; how above that of *Cæsares*, and yet that the *Senior Augustus* had a Pre-eminence over the *Junior* in several Respects, and particularly in respect to *Rescripts*; in this of (*Cognitio*) a Sentence given upon an Appeal, quite differing from *Edicts*, (and occasionally he speaks here of the *Tribunitia Potestas*) and hence how this *Rescript* might well have only the Name of *Marcus*, the *Senior Augustus*, tho' in the Time of *Lucius*. By which the Reader may find how exceedingly well versed Mr. *Dodwell* was, not only in the *History* of those Times, but also in the *Laws* and *Constitutions* of the *Roman Empire*, as well as in the *Affairs* of the *Church*. I shall not mention any more of that Dissertation, but refer the Reader to the Perusal of it.

C H A P. XVI.

Dissertations on Irenæus.



HAVE already observed how that excellent Person Dr. *Fell*, Bishop of *Oxford*, (who was a great Promoter of Learning, especially of such as might be any way serviceable to Religion, and the Benefit of the *Church*) put Mr. *Dodwell* upon writing his *Dissertations* upon S. *Cyprian*. The same worthy Prelate considered of what singular Advan-
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St. Irenæus, one of the first Christian Writers after the Apostles, might be, if the Design of his Book against Hereticks was set in a clear Light. Hence he employed Mr. Dodwell in this Undertaking, in that he knew him fitted for it, from that Insight he had into the *Platonical* Notions, which were the Foundations of those Heresies which *Irenæus* exposes; from his accurate Skill in Chronology and History, whereby several Passages in that Father might be cleared, as well as the Time when he wrote (upon which much depends) might be exactly stated; from his Acquaintance with other Authors, that wrote about that Age, whereby Expressions in *Irenæus* (otherwise difficult) might be explained, and other Things suitable to that End. This he sets upon, but never finished. The few Dissertations which he published, are only *Prolegomena* to what he farther designed, which was to shew what those ancient *Heresies* were, which at first pestered the Church of GOD, and what the *Foundation* of them was; by which Persons might clearly discern the Sense of *Irenæus*, (who lived so near the Times of the *Apostles*, and whose Writings are so justly valued) it being impossible to know his Meaning, till we understand the Opinions and Doctrines of those *Adversaries* he sets himself to oppose. But Mr. Dodwell was, by other Work, ever after diverted from the Prosecution of that which he at first chiefly intended. These Dissertations were published *An. Dom. 1689*, tho'

I find a Letter of Dr. Wotton's, directed to Mr. Dodwell at S. Afaph, Jan. 7. 87-8.

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written some time before, as is evident from the *Addenda ad p. 73.*

MR. Dodwell, in his *Preface*, obviates an Objection that might be made from his Allowance of the Spirit of *Prophecy* to the Ages next after the Apostles, (*Diss. 11.*) viz. that this would set them on a *Level* with the *Apostles*, and hereby *detract* from the Authority of the *Holy Scriptures*. He shews, that the first Fathers had better Opportunities of knowing the Customs, Language, Idioms, alluded to in the Scriptures, than Modern Expositors: That if we undervalue the Testimony of the next Age to the Apostles, we lessen the Authority of the *Holy Scriptures* themselves, in that we receive the *sacred Canon* from their *Testimony*: That the Allowing a Spirit of *Prophecy* to the next Age, equals not them with the Apostles, in that there were different *Degrees* of Prophecy; that as *Moses* surpassed all that came after him under that Dispensation, so under the Gospel the *Apostles* surpassed the *Prophets*; *S. Paul* proving himself to be an *Apostle*, by the Measure of the Revelations granted to him, equal to what was vouchsafed to the greatest Apostles. The same holds with respect to the *Signs* and *Marks* of Prophets. What is said of *Moses*, *Deut. xxxiv. 10.* holds good of the *Apostles*, when compared with them that came after them; in that some *Miracles* express a greater Degree of Power than others; such is *Raising the Dead*. [That which *Papias* received from *Philip's* Daughters of Raising the Dead, is to be meant of the *Apostles*.] But farther, as the *Apostolick College's* Authority was above that of any single Apostle, so no In-

inconvenience will ensue, if we allow to the *whole* Primitive Church, in the Age after the Apostles, to be equal with a *single* Apostle: And yet many Books of the *New Testament* depend on the Testimony of some single Apostle. However, there's no Ground to fear, that the Traditions of the Primitive Church should clash with the Writings of the Apostles; in that this Primitive Church gives its Testimony to those *Scriptures*; acknowledges these to be the *Rule* of our Faith; appeals to them in Controversies of Faith; and had those extraordinary Divine Assistances to understand them, which we want; and makes these the *Standards* of Divine Truths, or Articles of Faith, entertaining none for such, but those which may be proved from thence. Tho' it regarded Revelations in particular Cases, yet condemned in *Montanus*, and his Followers, those *New Revelations* they delivered of *Fasts*, &c. which they gave out as universally obligatory: (If in Matters of *Practice*, it holds stronger in Points of Faith.) And professedly denied, that any *New Revelations* in Matters of *Faith* were to be expected, or that any such were known to Christians, but those which are to be found in the *Canon* of *Holy Scriptures*, which is universally received: So that there is no Ground to fear any Innovations in the Christian Faith, from granting the Continuance of the Spirit of Prophecy in the Church, in the next Age to the Apostles. But farther, if we suppose the Revelations made afterwards to be of equal Authority to those made to the Apostles, and there appear any Clashing betwixt them; in this Case, the Arguments fetched from the *Holy Scriptures*

Scriptures are the strongest, because we are sure what the Doctrines of the *Apostles* were, from those *Writings* which have been universally received by the Church; whereas we know nothing of any following Revelations, but what we receive from the Writings of some *private* Persons. Farther, tho' we do not allow the ancient *Fathers* to be so *learned*, nor so *sagacious* in deducing Consequences, as Persons of this Age, but to be larger in their Way of Arguing, yet they are to be regarded more than the most *learned Moderns*, as they deliver the *History* of their own Time, Matters of *Fact*, the *Idioms* of Language then in Use, and other Things of this Kind, which help us to understand the Writings of the Apostles; and as they had *Books*, which were serviceable to this End, that we want. Hence we ought to put a modest Construction upon their Interpretations of Holy Writ. And tho' their *Reasonings* from the Scriptures seem to be less solid, especially in their Interpretations of the *New Testament*; yet we ought not presently to *slight* them, in that they might be the *Dictates* of the Holy Spirit in order to direct Persons that then lived what they ought to do: This being adapted to the Custom of that Age in their *mystical* Interpretations of Passages in the *Old Testament*. But this will not justify the *Enthusiasts* of this present Time, whose Circumstances are not the same.

IN *Dissert.* 1. Mr. *Dodwell* shews how *Irenæus* (and so his Contemporaries) was fitted to be a Witness of Truths delivered by the Apostles, when he lived so near the Time of the Apostles, having

having conversed with *Polycarp*, who was made Bishop of *Smyrna* by the Apostles; and also with *Papias*, who had seen *S. John*, whom *Irenæus* supposed to be the Apostle, the others think it was *John the Elder* (c); [who *Mr. Dodwell* thinks might be *S. Mark*, he being also called *John*.] Besides whom, *Irenæus* saw many others, who had seen and heard the Apostles, whom he styles *Seniores & Presbyteros*, so called from their Age, and not their Office. [Here *Mr. Dodwell* takes Notice, how absurdly *Presbyterians* argue from the Word *πρεσβύτερος*, used to denote old Men, given to *Bishops*, that hence *Presbyters* and *Bishops* are the same; and how the *Apostles* styled themselves *πρεσβυτέρως* from their Age; and shews, that generally *Bishops* were then aged Persons.] Accordingly *Eusebius* and others style the Contemporaries of *Irenæus* *πρώτην διαδοχὴν*, the first Succession, as such who preserved Traditions derived from the Apostles: And make the Reign of *Trajan* the Time when the first Enquiry was made into Apostolick Traditions, because about that Time those *Hereticks* arose, who pretended to receive their Doctrines by such Tradition, and were the Off-spring of *Jewish Hereticks*, [till which Time *Hegesippus* styles the Church a *Virgin*] who then publicly avow'd their Doctrines, and made a Separation, having before lurked in secret; yet so, as to have their *ψευδώνυμος γνώσις* taxed by *S. Paul*; and yet so, as that the *Man of Sin* was not then fully revealed; and in *S. Jude's* Time are said to feast with them (*ἐν ἀγάπαις*) in

(c) *Vid. Addenda ad p. 10.*

their *Love Feasts*, and hence were not of Separate Communion, tho' then were come; [probably when the *Ebionites* troubled the Christians when fled to *Pella*; this Epistle being written the last of all the *New Testament*, but S. *John's* two last Epistles, and the Revelations, *An. Dom.* 71, or 72.] and 2 *Joh.* v. x. They came into their Houses, as Friends in Pretence, and are intimated to be yet in Communion with the Church, *Rev.* ii. 2, 14, 20, 24. And so even when *Pliny* wrote, (*An. Dom.* 103.) who tells, how some in that Persecution denied themselves to be *Christians*, and worshipp'd the Emperor's Image, &c. These probably were *Gnosticks*. When S. *Ignatius* wrote his Epistles, (*An. Dom.* 107.) tho' they separated from Communion with these Bishops, yet then had only covert clancular Conventicles. *Celsus* agrees with *Hegesippus* in the Time of the Appearance of these Hereticks; and so doth *Irenæus*, who assigns the Rise to *Menander*; as also *Clemens Alexandrinus*, [where Mr. *Dodswell* explains a difficult Passage of that Father.] *Eusebius* makes the last αὐτόπται, those that had seen CHRIST, to continue to the Time of *Trajan*; such as *Simeon*, Son of *Cleophas* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, and also the Apostle S. *John*, (who likewise speaks of him who pierced CHRIST's Side, as if then alive); and also *John* the Presbyter, *Aristion*, and some whom CHRIST raised from the Dead, mentioned by *Quadratus*; also the Daughters of *Philip*. Some of the Apostles, viz. those by whom *Polycarp* was ordained: *Philip*, if not the Apostle, yet he who was ordained Deacon early, mentioned by *Polycrates*; yet the Memory

of Philip the Apostle, as also of Thomas, Mat-
 thew, and Lebbaeus, was fresh in Trajan's Time.
 The next Series of such who delivered Apostolick
 Traditions, were the *Disciples* of them who had
 seen our Saviour, and were of Age to receive
 Instructions from them. Mr. *Dodwell* shews how
Hegesippus and *Irenæus* are ranked in this Number
 by *Eusebius*; which he thinks thus happened;
 That when the *Hereticks* pretended Traditions
 derived from (not only the forged Writings of
Matthias, which Fraud was detected, but also)
 the *Testimony* of old Men who had seen the Apo-
 stles, with whom some of these Hereticks had
 conversed: Hence the *Orthodox* enquired both
 for all the Genuine *Writings* of the *Apostles*, and
 the Testimonies of such which they could con-
 front with those produced by Hereticks: Such as
 began in *Hadrian's* Time. The Testimony of
Polycarp, being very ancient, highly conduced to
 reclaim some of the Hereticks. Hence came the
 Collection of *διδασκαλ* the *Doctrines* of the Apo-
 stles, collected from Oral Traditions, began (pro-
 bably by *Hippolytus* in the third Century, fol-
 lowed by the Author of the *Constitutions*; made
 up of these *διδασκαλ*, in which they insert some
 Scraps of the true Writings of them whose Do-
 ctrines they deliver. Possibly hence came the In-
 terpolations of *Ignatius's* Epistles, by joining
 thereto the *διδασκαλ* ascribed to him; and that cal-
 led the Second Epistle of *S. Clement*. There might
 be a *διδασκαλ* of *Irenæus*, from whence he might
 be styled *Apostolicus*. There's great Reason to
 believe his Testimony of Apostolick Traditions:
 Tho' these are to be considered either as Matters

of Fact, or as Consequences. In the first we ought to believe plain Men, if true and honest; and particularly (1.) as Attesting the *Canon* of the *Holy Scriptures*, and (2.) the *Government* of the *Church*. The first depends upon Inspired Persons being *Authors* of such Books: This being *Matter of Fact*, must depend upon *Testimony*; the Office of *Apostles* being that of *Attestation*, by which they assert their Authority. By this Means the *Writings* of the *Holy Scriptures* were received by the *Testimony* of them who knew the *Holy Pen-men*, and after, of those to whom these Persons recommended them: Tho' Mr. *Dodwell* thought, that the *Canon* of the *New Testament* was not collected till the Time of *Trajan*: That *S. Matthew*, *S. Mark*, and *S. Luke*, (of whose Writing, the *Acts* was not a distinct, but a *second Part*) had not seen what each other wrote: That *Justin Martyr*, and *Irenæus*, are the first who mention the Number of *Four Gospels*: The *Hereticks* made it their Business to corrupt, and interpolate these: (d) *S. Paul's Epistles* were generally received before that Time, excepting that to the *Hebrews*, (before which his Name is not prefixed) which, as other Books, were by Degrees universally received. The Occasion of this, Mr. *Dodwell* supposes to be the smaller Number of Christians after *Nero's Persecution*; tho' in his *Addenda* he owns his Error in citing a Passage out of *Tacitus* to prove this, which is spoken of the Time of *Tiberius*.

(d) *S. Matthew's Gospel* carried to the Indies by *S. Bartholomew*, when *Trajan* returned from his second Day's Expedition. An. 107. Vid. *Addenda* ad p. 73.

THE Form of Church Government is more easily evinced, as being more obvious. Had there been any *Change* from what was instituted by the Apostles, this would have been easily defeated; S. John, if none other of the Apostles, having reached the Time of Trajan; when there was a general Consent of the same Government in all Churches; and this was more apparent, even to private Christians, than Matters of Faith; when the Orthodox appealed to the Succession of Bishops in eminent Churches down from the Apostles, for the Truth of the Doctrines received from the Apostles; which intimates the general Acknowledgment that this Government was established by, and received from, the Apostles. Those that attest this, were Persons of great Integrity, and therefore to be believed in delivering Matters of Fact, tho' they might be mistaken in their Reasonings; as Irenæus, with respect to the Age of our Saviour, (which Mr. Dodwell shews was longer than is ordinarily supposed) and so about the Millennium, and some other Things. The Knowledge of Technical Words, Idioms, the Customs of that Age, &c. is useful to the understanding Matters of Faith delivered in the Holy Scriptures, which were adapted to the Capacity of People that lived in the Age in which they were written. Hence, in respect to these Things, the Ancients are more to be consulted and confided in, than the Moderns.

MR. Dodwell having shewn, that Irenæus and others had the ordinary Means, he (*Dissert. 2.*) comes to shew, that they had extraordinary Means of being acquainted with the Doctrines delivered

by the *Apostles*, who were enabled by the Spirit of God to deliver the Doctrine of CHRIST to the World *infallibly*: And those of the next Age had sufficient *Assistance* to transmit to others, what the Apostles delivered to them, having the *extraordinary Gifts* of the Holy Ghost continued to them, by which they were preserved from Error, and hereby became unexceptionable Witnesses of Apostolical Traditions. Neither do their Errors in their Reasonings evince the contrary, seeing even the Apostles (as *S. Peter*, *Gal. ii. 11.*) were not at all Times preserved from Failings: But God granted this extraordinary Assistance to the Governors of His Church, that they should not err in such Things, in which their Errors would be pernicious to the Church: Having elsewhere (*Dissert. Cypr.*) proved the Continuance of extraordinary Gifts in the next Ages after the Apostles, which tho' given to others, were yet especially serviceable to them who ministred in the Sacred Offices; tho' at first all *Prophets* ministred; yet when ordinary Ministers were constituted, to whom the Prophets were subjected, such were chosen out of the extraordinary Gifted Persons, and by their *Unction* had Divine Power conveyed to 'em, to enable 'em to execute their Ministry. This, under the *Jewish* OEconomy, was conveyed to *Civil Magistrates*, more to *Priests*, [to enable them to be Mediators betwixt God and Men, a Notion entertained even among Heathens] and much more this might be expected among *Christians*. These *Prophets* were fitted for all Ministries in Christian Assemblies, as *Psalmody*, both in Composing and Singing Psalms, and particularly

larly the *Eucharistical Hymn*; so also for Exhortation and Preaching. [Tis questionable, whether, at first *Reading*, the Holy Scripture was used in Christian Assemblies.] Of these there were many, out of whom they might make their Choice, 1 *Cor.* i. 4, 6, 7. and this, even to the Time of *Ignatius*. Of these there were (*Φανερώσεις*) Manifestations, even to the Conviction of Infidels. Such were the *Shechinahs*, or Shining Light, on the Heads of Persons newly baptized, particularly of CHRIST, [by which Fire the Holy Ghost was represented, according to *Justin Martyr*] a Specimen of what should be conferred on others in Baptism; as on the Apostles in that mystical Baptism, *Acts* ii. From whence ensued the Gift of *Tongues*, in which, probably, the Fire was in the Shape of Tongues: So on others, accompanying *Water Baptism*, as on *Cornelius*, and the others, on whom the Holy Ghost descended, and enabled them to speak with Tongues: So *Acts* xix. 6. and on others, Baptism being the Means of conveying the Holy Spirit, [a peculiar Privilege under the Gospel] and not only the *Graces* thereof to enable them to lead holy Lives, but also the extraordinary Gifts, such as *Prophecy*, foretold, *Joel* ii. to be poured out on all Sorts in the Time of the Gospel. These Gifts were given at first to all, in their Baptism, [whence the greatest Regard was paid to the (*ἀναρχαί*) first Christian Converts] which lessened by Degrees, when of less Necessity to the Conviction of Infidels. The first that received these Gifts, had the greatest Measure of them: Hence the Apostles excelled Prophets and Evangelists. These First-Fruits, or earliest Converts, were generally ordained to the Ministry

by the Apostles, *Clem. Rom. Ep. n. 42.* which Method continued to the Time of *Hadrian*. [After which *non Ordo*, not the Time of Persons being Converts, but the *Merit*, was considered.] To which Time we find, that God vouchsafed extraordinary Revelations to the Governors of Churches, [and consequently to the Time of *Irenæus*] and the Gift of *Discerning of Spirits*, by which they might be enabled to choose fit Persons into the Sacred Ministry: As also they did by *Lots*, (wherein there was an Appeal to GOD) by *External Signs, Dreams, Voices*, and the *Testimony of Christians*. This continued to *S. Cyprian's* Time, who looked on all *Priests* to be constituted by GOD Himself; and reasons so, as if he thought that GOD did immediately interpose in the *Choice* of Persons that were to be His Ministers: Which implied, that they had Gifts that qualified them for their Office, or, at least, that GOD would bestow such Gifts upon their being ordained to it, *1 Tim. iv. 14.* A χάρισμα was bestowed μετὰ by the Imposition of Hands, διὰ προφητείας, foretold before by GOD; yet the Judgment of the Church, or of its Governors assembled together, was of greater Authority than what was deliver'd by *single* Persons. But that which manifested the Truth of Prophecies and Revelations, was *Miracles*, the Working of which was promised to Christians in general, *Mark xvi. 17.* and continued to *Trajan's* Time, and afterwards; and no doubt accompanied them, who in his Time made Expeditions to convert Infidels; besides what we are assured of from *Ignatius*. *Aquila* was converted by Miracles wrought by Christians in the End of *Hadrian's* Reign: For

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Mr. Dodwell shews, that the Colony was planted at *Ælia*, (in which *Aquila* presided, in the twentieth Year of his Reign. Under *Antoninus Pius* Miracles were wrought at *Polycarp's* Martyrdom, and *Justin Martyr* attests the like then done. And then it was pretended to by the *Hereticks* of that Time, called in the *New Testament*, *Antichrists*, who assumed the Name of *CHRIST*, the *Λόγος*, as *Simon*, *Dositheus*, and *Menander*: But the following *Hereticks* are styled in the *New Testament* *False Prophets*, and *False Apostles*. They looked on *Miracles* as necessary to their Pretences, and hence counterfeited them: They wrought τέρατα ψεύδους, (e) which *detraets* nothing from the Value of the Miracles wrought by *CHRIST* and His Apostles; seeing the Orthodox had *Marks* by which they could discern true from counterfeit Miracles: And also in that the *Hereticks* were on this Reason induced to pretend Miracles, that they might vye with the Orthodox, in their Expeditions, to get Profelytes; and the Working of them was useful to the Orthodox, in order to oppose and detect the Frauds of the other. Miracles were wrought by Christians in the Time of *Irenæus*, of which he gives ample Testimony, as known to himself; such as were wrought by the Apostles, Healing Diseases, Raising the Dead, Propheying, Speaking with Tongues, and Discerning the Thoughts of Mens Hearts; and these as vouchsafed every where to the Church, and not to *Hereticks*. Under *Marcus Antoninus*, likewise, considerable Miracles were wrought, (as what were

(e) To deceive the Elect. Mr. Dodwell shews, that Word signifies not Persons predestinated, as in Addenda.

wrought on the *Martyrs* at *Lyons*): But from that Time they seem to have ceased gradually, as likewise other extraordinary Gifts: Only such were continued, that might be serviceable to the *Church*, tho' not those, before granted, for the Conversion of Infidels, in that there were then no Expeditions for that Purpose.

SOME miraculous Favours were granted to *Martyrs* under *Septimius Severus*, as also extraordinary Power to cure Diseases, and to cast out Devils, then vouchsafed to Christians, asserted by *Tertullian*. [That of *Narcissus* turning Water into Oil, for the Lamps in the Paschal Vigils. This defended.] And Spirits possessing Persons, were by Christians compelled to own themselves Devils, and were dispossessed. This is attained by *Theophilus* of *Antioch*, and *Minutius Felix*, and *Origen*, who tells of the extraordinary and immediate *Change* that was wrought in Persons that were sincere *Converts* to *Christianity*; as also, that some Footsteps of such Miracles, as were wrought by the Apostles, continued till his Time. The like asserted by *S. Cyprian*, to be in his Time, and what Divine Power was conferred by *Baptism*; how Devils were then *exorcised* by Christians, and how such as had *lapsed*, were punished by *Satan*, to whom they were delivered, or became Captives. Some Miracles were wrought, no doubt, by *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, which gave occasion to the Fictions superadded. The *Christians* exerted great Power over Devils, the *Heathen* Deities, in the Time of *Valerian* and *Galienus*; as also, under *Diocletian* and *Julian*. *Arnobius* in his Time, (which Mr. *Dodwell* considers)

ders) as also *Lactantius*, testify the same; and *Julius Firmicus Maternus* in his Time, which was a little after. Mr. *Dodwell* shews the *Injustice* of the *Atheists Objection* against the first well-attested Miracles, because there were so many *Forgeries* of later Miracles; whereas *S. Chrysostom*, who asserts the Truth of the former, owns, that Miracles were ceased in his Time, or were very rare: As also does *S. Augustin*. Tho', even about that Time, some few Miracles God vouchsafed, as the *Heavenly Apparition* to Constantine, &c. the *Subversion* of the new Structures of a Temple at *Jerusalem*, under *Julian*, and some others. Mr. *Dodwell* shews, what Difference there is betwixt the *Primitive* Miracles, and those now boasted of by *Papists*; especially, in respect to the *Credit* of the Witnesses, the *Nature* of the Miracles, and the *Ends* for which they were wrought; those of the Apostolick Times being to *confirm* the Divine Authority of the Christian Doctrine, and to *convert* Infidels, at least for some *Publick Good*, [and not to prove the *Saintship* of any particular Person] as also to *confront* Hereticks that pretended to work them. So little are the Miracles pretended to by *Romanists* like the *Primitive*, that they have some of the *Marks* of *Impostures* assigned by the ancient Fathers, which they give to detect those of Hereticks; such as leaving no *permanent Effect* behind them, and being no way *beneficial* to the Souls or Bodies of Men. Mr. *Dodwell* concludes, with shewing the great Difference there is betwixt *Primitive* and *Popish* Miracles: And how certain the *Primitive* were, to prove the Truth of their Doctrine against *Socinians*,
and

and the Certainty of *Episcopal* Government against its Adversaries.

IN *Dissert.* 3. Mr. *Dodwell* (having premised the Difficulty of this Undertaking, from the Want of Historical Monuments both in Civil and Ecclesiastical Affairs, about that Time) gives an Account, *First*, about what Time *Irenæus* was born, which he supposes from *Irenæus's* own Words, was either in *Nerva's* Reign, or about the Beginning of *Trajan's*; seeing, (1.) He makes *S. John's* Revelations near his own Generation, γενεά, [which Mr. *Dodwell* largely shews the Meaning of, as of that Phrase καθ' ἡμᾶς] that is, about the Time of his Birth. (2.) His having seen *Polycarp* when young, *Puer*; which he shews, from *Irenæus's* own Computation, must be betwixt 20 and 30 Years of Age: [And here he shews the diverse Accounts of the Childhood, Youth, Manhood, and old Age given us by the Ancients; particularly, by *S. Jerome*;] and that ἡλικία was not till the Age of 25, (till which Time they were ἀφ᾽ ἡλικίας) which Time seeing *Irenæus* had passed, when he saw *Polycarp*, he must be then above 25, and yet not 30 Years old. Now when he saw *Polycarp* in the Lower or *Lydian Asia*, ἐν βασιλικῇ αὐλῇ, in the Roman Emperor's Court, (for so it must (f) be) it was, in all likelihood, in the Time of *Hadrian*, and not till his Fifth or Sixth Year. And it must be so late, when *Polycarp*, exclaiming against the Hereticks that then appeared, *Unto what Times hast Thou, O GOD, kept me, &c.* intimates, that

(f) V. *Addenda*, ad p. 237.

he was then very old; especially, when repeated upon the Rise of new Heresies. Here Mr. Dodwell considers the Rise of *Hereticks*, particularly of *Marcion*, [where he observes some Chronological Mistakes in *Tertullian*] mentioned by *Justin M.* in his (truly) First Apology, written to *Antoninus Pius*, before his making *Marcus* his *Cæsar*, and therefore in the Beginning of his Reign; and yet then *S. Justin* intimates, that *Marcion* had made a great Progress in venting his Heresy. *Marcion* was in *Basilides's* Time, and was his Ancestor, tho' a little later. *Basilides* died in the Time of *Hadrian*. *Marcion* had seen some of the first Descendents from the Apostles. He computes, that *Irenæus* was about 25 Years old when *Hyginus* was chosen Bishop, and this *Anno Domini* 122. From *Tertullian*, that he was Cotemporary with the Broachers of Heresies, *i. e.* flourished in their Time, [elder than *S. Justin*, who was martyred under *Pius*, in the 30th Year of his Age] in the Time of *Valentinus*, tho' possibly younger, and hence under *Hadrian*: And withall from a Passage in *Irenæus* himself, that he, not long after the Time of *S. John*, who wrote the *Revelations*, made his Journey into *Asia*. He confirms this in his *Addenda*, ad p. 252.

MR. Dodwell afterwards makes Enquiry concerning the Death of *S. Irenæus*; shews, that he was no Martyr, (tho' represented as suffering under *Severus* by some later Writers) never styled thus by earlier Writers, who never forbear to give that honorary Title, when due, to them they recommend; and yet they never mention him

him as such, when there would have been occasion to have taken notice thereof. The first, that we are sure of, who mentions him as a Martyr, is *Gregory of Tours*; but then he places him among the Martyrs of *Lyons*, and *Vienna*, and this on no other reason, but that there's Mention of him in that Epistle which recounts those Martyrs; from whence, even *Zacharias* (tho' *Zacharias* there mentioned, was *S. John Baptist's* Father) is put in that Catalogue. Whereas *Irenæus* succeeded *Pothinus* then martyred, and was alive long after in the Time of *Victor*, when the *Paschal* Controversy made a Disturbance. He is taken notice of as eminent in the Third Year of *Commodus*, probably, because at that Time he opposed the Heresies of *Blastus* and *Florinus*; in his Epistles to whom he speaks of this *Old Age*, the fitter on that Account (and thence called to *Rome*) to grapple with those *Hereticks* who pretended Tradition, as *Polycarp* had been before; besides the Respect then given to Persons from their Age. Those *Hereticks* gave occasion to the Rise of the *Paschal* Controversy, teaching at *Rome*, where the contrary Practice had been observed, that *Easter* should be observed as the *Jews*, and also as the *Asian* Churches observed it. About which, several *Synods* were called. Over that in *France*, *Irenæus* presided. This was, most probably, in the Tenth Year of *Commodus*, and the First of *Victor*, in *Autumn*. From a Passage of *Caius*, Mr. *Dodwell* collects the Time of *Victor*, and also of *Clemens Alexandrinus*. He concludes, that *Irenæus* died before *Victor*: That as *Polycarp* deliver'd Traditions he received from the

the Apostles, and *Irenæus* what were received from *Polycarp*, so *Clemens* what were received from *Irenæus*; and hence, that *Clemens* was so much younger than *Irenæus*, as *Irenæus* was than *Polycarp*. Reasoning from which, he concludes, that *Irenæus* could scarce survive the Year 190, and that he did exceed the 90th Year of his Age, tho' not attain to the 100th; and that, by the good Providence of God, he had so long a Life granted to him, that he might be able, by his having conversed with such as had seen the Apostles, to countermine those Hereticks, that pretended Apostolical Traditions for their vile Heresies; to shew, which were the true *Writings* of the Apostles; and to discover the Falshood of those, which Hereticks counterfeited under their Names. And Mr. *Dodwell* shews, how, by Virtue of the long Lives of *Simeon* Son of *Cephas*, *Polycarp*, *Irenæus*, *Narcissus* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, and *Alexander* his Successor, Traditions might be transmitted down to the Time of *Decius*; which was so long as the *Dispute* lasted with these Hereticks.

IN *Dissert.* 4. Mr. *Dodwell* proceeding to speak of *Irenæus's* Works, begins with those against *Heresies*; and that because they were the *First* that he wrote, which appears from his telling his Reader, that he had not been accustomed to write: But yet withall, that he was then about the 80th Year of his Age, from his mentioning several Successors of *Polycarp*, whom he had seen after he was 25: And from his Mention of One, elder than himself, who had received Traditions from them who had seen the Apostles. [The Reason

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is given why he names him not: Most probable it was *Pothinus*.] That he at first designed only the Two first Books; the *First*, to detect the Heresies; the *Second*, to propound briefly such Considerations that might suffice to *refute* them: And that these Two were at first published by themselves; tho', at the End of the *Second*, he speaks of his Design hereafter to write on that Subject another Book; which *Third* Book, 'tis probable, he wrote suddenly afterwards; by all which, he supposed that he had fully confuted those Hereticks. Notwithstanding which, in the Conclusion thereof, he promises, at his Leisure, to publish a *Fourth*, to declare the Doctrine of our Blessed Saviour, in opposition to those Hereticks; which, when he had finished, he tells of his Purpose, to add that of *S. Paul*, which he doth in the *Fifth* Book. Mr. *Dodwell* takes Notice, how foolish the *Pseudo-Dexter* makes *Turibius* Bishop of *Toledo*, (whom he confounds with him of *Asturia*, in whose Days the *Gnostick* Heresies were revived by the *Priscillianists*) the Person to whom *Irenæus* directs his Books. Whoever he was, he seems to be a *Greek*, who desires him to write against the *Valentinians*, whose Heresies prevailed most in the *Eastern Churches*: Tho' withall on this Reason, that by Overthrowing these, he might therewith overthrow other Heresies; the Original of all which he makes *Simon Magus* to be, (tho' denied by the *Valentinians*, who pretended, that they received their Traditions from the Apostles) which he proves by the Succession of Hereticks in the same School, and Descendents from *Menander*, the Scholar of *Si-*

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mon. For each of the Younger were Disciples to the Elder Hereticks, tho', by improving their Errors, they became Authors of a new Sect, each more corrupt than the former, having their peculiar Marks and Characters; kind to each other, tho' all Enemies to Catholicks. Here Mr. Dodwell discourses of the Χαρακτῆρ of *Valentinus*, (as of the Ἀρχὴ of these Hereticks) and of Μεταρρύσσαι εἰς Χαρακτῆρα, viz. that tho' he took his *Æones* from other Hereticks, and they from the Gentile Θεογονίαι, yet he adapted these to his own Hypothesis; as he did λόγος, ζωὴ, &c. taken out of the Holy Scriptures, putting a new Sense upon them. The *Valentinians* were esteemed most dangerous, because these did not, as some Hereticks, value themselves above CHRIST and his Apostles, who hence barefaced Enemies to the Gospel; but pretended, that they received their Doctrines from the Apostles, by misinterpreting (not, as Marcion, corrupting) their Writings, and by forging others under their Names, and pretending Traditions from them. *Irenæus* thence makes it his Business to shew, how the Catholicks were more credible Attesters of such Traditions, than the Hereticks, in that the first of these were Opposers of the Apostles themselves. He begins with *Ptolemy*, his Cotemporary, a Follower of *Valentinus*, and Improver of his Dotages and Mysteries; which *Irenæus* discovers, together with his Books, which had been kept concealed studiously (as was customary among the *Pythagoreans*) from all but such as were initiated, μεμυημένοι. And then takes in such as were Improvers upon *Ptolemy*, γνωσιώτεροι. Among whom was *Marcus*, who came into

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France;

France ; and *Colorbafus* also, who seems to be a Master to *Marcus*, and a Scholar both of *Ptolemy*, and before that, of *Valentinus*. Tho' *Marcus* was some time before *Irenæus* wrote. Mr. *Dodwell* then considers the *Customs* of these *Hereticks*, their redeeming Persons from *Matter* into *Pleroma* ; their Pretence to Perfection ; their *Initiations* of their Disciples ; their magical ἀποτελέσματα, their *Prodigies*, and their *Mysteries*. Afterwards their *impure* Conversation, altogether unbecoming the great Pretences of these *Hereticks* ; (of which Mr. *Dodwell* produces several Instances ;) tho' this is no *Criterion* of the Truth of Doctrines ; not a Ground to approve 'em, because the *Teachers* thereof appear (as *Satan* did) as *Angels of Light* ; nor to reject 'em, because taught by Men of loose Lives : But when Mens Vices are the Fruits and Consequences of their Errors ; as it was in the First *Hereticks*, who allow'd of *denying* CHRIST in Time of Persecution ; of *Magick*, &c. we may justly suspect what such Men teach, when they want Veracity, Diligence, and Divine Assistance : Not to believe them upon an implicit Faith, where the Doctrine is not founded on good Reasoning, but obtruded (as the *Gnosticks* was) as *mysterious* ; when taught as a *new Revelation* from God, who doth not ordinarily reveal His Will to unholy Persons ; especially, when contrary to known Divine Revelations ; and when the Teachers are out of Communion with the Church.

FROM the *Succession* of these *Hereticks*, Mr. *Dodwell* collects the *Time* when *Irenæus* wrote. *Valentinus* was before that dead, who lived to the

the Time of *Anicetus*, which was the Year of CHRIST, 142. *Secundus* succeeded him in his School: To him *Epiphanes*, the Inventor of *Monotes*, or *Movàs*, the Son of *Carpocrates*, and Author of the *Carpocratian* Heresy, which began in the Time of *Hadrian*, taught vile Impurities, and gave a Handle to *Heathens* to object the *Thyestean* Feasts against *Christians*; which Accusation seems, from S. *Justin's* Apology, to begin under *Hadrian*. [*Isidorus*, Son of *Basilides*, was somewhat earlier, tho' placed at that Time by *Epiphanius*.] The *Carpocratian* Heresy was, by *Marcellina*, brought to *Rome* in the Time of *Anicetus*. *Ptolemy* succeeded *Epiphanes*, who, about the Year of CHRIST 140, had joined himself to the School of *Valentinus*, and, after his Death, set up a new School, tho' possibly after both *Secundus* and *Epiphanes*. Here Mr. *Dodwell* shews, how *Epiphanes* had *Divine Honours* (of which, being paid to Men by *Heathens*, and by *Hereticks*, and the Kind of those Honours, he discourses) paid to him at *Same* in *Cephalenia*, his Mother being a *Cephalenian*: That 'tis probable, near that Place, while *Valentinus* lived, *Secundus*, *Epiphanes*, and *Ptolemy*, had their School; and *Ptolemy* had *Colorbasus* for his Disciple, who was *Marcus's* Master. All these, at first, went under the Name of *Valentinians*, whilst *Valentinus* lived, (who taught at *Rome*) tho' after his Death, set up for Authors of new Sects. *Ptolemy* seems to be born betwixt the Year of CHRIST 128 and 130, was no Hearer of the proper Witnesses of Tradition, younger than *Irenæus*. Hence there is time enough, if *Irenæus* wrote un-

der *Marcus Antoninus*, for him to be acquainted with what he tells of *Marcus*, and the *Deacon's* Wife that was his Disciple, and of their Coming out of *Asia* into *France*, and the Detection of their Mysteries ; and likewise of *Tatian*, who professed not his Heresies while his Master *Justin* lived, tho' not long before his own Death, which was before *Irenæus* wrote. *Tatian* appeared in the 12th Year of *Marcus Antoninus*. But his Heresy was promoted by *Severus*, (and thence his Followers denominated *Severiani* and *Encratite*, *Tatian* living not long enough to propagate it) about the Year 174. About which Time, *Irenæus* wrote against Heresies which were sprung up before that Time, but against none that rose after that Time. Particularly, not that of *Bardefanes*, whom *Eusebius* places next to *Tatian*, as living under *Marcus Antoninus*, but, in Truth, under *Alagabalus*, who was also named *Antoninus*, whence arose the Mistake. Neither does the Name of *Apollonius*, the Friend of the Emperor, who disputed against *Bardefanes*, or of *Abgarus* (of which Name there were many) evince the contrary. However, immediately after this Time, *Julius Cassianus*, the Ringleader of the *Docetæ*, appeared ; of whom *Irenæus* makes no Mention. Against *Marcianus*, betwixt whom and *Cassian* there were Successors, *Serapion* disputed, who was Bishop of *Antioch* in *Commodus's* Reign, and was martyred under *Severus*. Consequently, *Cassianus* must have appeared at the latter End of *Marcus's* Reign ; of whom, had *Irenæus* known any thing, he would not have passed him over, having taken Notice of former Hereticks who
broached

broached the same Doctrine with these *Docetæ*. So that *Irenæus* wrote some time before the End of *Marcus's* Reign. Which Mr. *Dodwell* confirms from *Tertullian's* making *Proculus*, whom he knew in his Youth, *Pueritiâ*, (which must be in the Time of *Commodus*) a Writer against the Hereticks after *Irenæus*; as he makes *Justin M.* before him, (who wrote his second Apology to *Anton. Pius.*) As also *Miltiades*, who wrote his Apology *πρὸς τὰς κοσμικὰς ἀρχοντας*, to the Emperors *Marcus* and *Lucius*, thence in the Beginning of *Marcus's* Reign: And also is named by one who wrote against *Maximilla*, whose Prophecies of War and Persecution he convinces of Falseness; which must be in the Time of *Commodus*. The *Chronicon* of *Alexandria* makes *Theodotion*, who is mention'd by *Irenæus*, to be, when *Marcellus* and *Ælian* were Consuls, i. e. Anno 184. This last is not in *Epiphanius*, whom he cites. 'Tis true, it was when *Commodus* was *Augustus*, but jointly with his Father, and probably the first Year. [Mr. *Dodwell* shews, how the Mistake arose from the Reasonings concerning the Times of the Translations of the Old Testament, by *Aquila*, *Symmachus*, and *Theodotion*.] It falls out in the Year 175, that *Theodotion* published his Translation: *Irenæus* his Books in the Year 176, or the Beginning of 177, before he heard of the Death of *Eleutherus*. What *Epiphanius* delivers of *Theodotion*, that he was an Hearer (so *διάδοχος* may signify) of *Marcion*, who died in the middle of *Pius's* Reign, brings him down to *Marcus's* Reign: Which is probable, from his becoming a Jew, and being circumcised,

cumcised, a thing forbidden by *Adrian*, and probably indulged afterwards, and then again strictly forbidden by *Severus*: That Time of Indulgence, under *Marcus*, was a fit Time for *Theodotion* to become a *Jewish* Profelyte. As for that Objection against his writing his Book at that Time, because he mentions *Heracleon*, who is, by *Epiphanius*, made a Third from *Ptolemy*, who was alive at his writing: 'Tis answer'd, (1.) That many of these Hereticks set up for themselves when very young; and, (2.) other Writers (as *Tertullian*) make him contemporary with *Ptolemy*; and *Origen* makes him (*γνώριμον*) known to *Valentinus*, whose Heresy differed little from *Valentinus's*, yet (according to *Tertullian*) is mentioned by Name, by *Irenæus*. Thence Mr. *Dodwell* concludes, that *Irenæus* wrote in the 9th or 10th Year of his Episcopate, *Anno Domini* 167.

THE Vth Dissertation is, concerning the *Latin* Translator of *Irenæus*, it being evident (tho' *Erasmus* doubted of it) that he wrote in *Greek*, both from what S. *Jerome* says, and likewise *Irenæus* himself, in his *Preface* to Book the First, where he calls the Language of the *Celtæ*, *Barbarous*, which was *Latin*, *Lyons* being a *Roman* Colony; and shews himself to be a *Greek*, as well as he wrote in that Language; which he excused as less *Elegant*, in that he had been accustomed, by living among the *Celtæ*, to speak their Language. Tho' in S. *Jerome's* Opinion, and in truth, very *Elegant*. And hence he could not be the Author of that in *Latin*, which abounds with *Hellenisms*, and these barbarous and unskilful,
and

and hence plainly a Translation out of *Greek*; and withall of a later Date than the Time of *Tertullian*, who translates some Passages in *Irenæus*, very different from the present Version. The first that cites this *Latin Irenæus*, is *S. Augustin*, who took it for an Original, (having never seen the *Greek*) and his Citations agree with the *Latin* which we now have. This Version was not known to *S. Cyprian*, or to *Optatus* of *Milevis*, or to *S. Jerome*. This was probably made by occasion of the *Priscillianists*, who are accused to be guilty of entertaining the Heresies of the *Gnosticks*, which *Irenæus* confuted: And this, probably, by some *Gaul* or *Spaniard*, after the Year 385. After this Heresy was quashed, this Translation was little known: Not found by *Gregory the Great*, who sought it; nor cited by *Latin Writers*: Tho' *Irenæus* is often cited by *Greeks*. Whence 'tis to be admired, that there are so many Copies of the *Latin Version*, but none to be found of the Original *Greek*: Seeing there were formerly so many Copies of this latter, which were so neat and elegant; and so few of the Translation, which is so rude and barbarous. [Here *Mr. Dodwell* takes Notice, how there was the like Neglect in respect to other ancient Fathers.] The Contents were possibly prefix'd by the Translator, but the Division of Chapters and Titles were added by Librarians, and hence of no Authority.

THE VIth Dissertation considers other Works of *Irenæus*: And, First, those against *Blastus* and *Florinus*. These Hereticks gave not the Occasion to *Irenæus*, (as *Baronius* supposes) of writing

ting his Books against Heresies: Neither could they, in that the Heresies were *new*, and never taught by former Hereticks, whom he refutes in those other Books. *Florinus* heard *Polycarp* discourse of God's *Monarchy*; that He alone was the great Orderer and Disposer of all Things, not only in Heaven, but also on Earth: That neither the *Dæmons*, and *Heroes*, as the *Heathen* imagined, nor the *Æones*, as the *Hereticks*, shared with Him in the Government of the World. *Florinus* hence ran into an Extreme, and made God to be the Author of Sin, which other Hereticks would have avoided, by making other Causes of Evils besides God. Both *Florinus* and *Blastus* (*Euseb. H. E. l. v. 20.*) fell from the Dignity of *Presbyters*. [*Ἀποπεσεῖν* may denote, either their own forsaking it, or the Church's Censures; probably, here the latter.] But *Blastus* was not involved with *Florinus* in the Entertainment of the same Error, (tho' some have rendred the Passage of *Eusebius*, as if it was so) but in the *Schism*. *Blastus* corrupted [as the Meaning of the Word *παραχαράττειν* is given] *θεσμὸν*, the Law and Canon of the Church, probably in the Observation of *Easter*. They being both *Schismatics*, 'tis probable that *Irenæus's* Epistles were sent to them both at the same time, in the Third Year of *Commodus*, *Anno Domini* 182. in the Time of *Victor*; *Irenæus* gives Intimation, that he was then very old, and had written his Books against Heresies. *Florinus* after this became a *Valentinian*: This occasioned *Irenæus's* Book of *Ogdoas*, which probably exposed some new Notions added to what former *Valentinians* had taught;

taught ; therefore, not the same Books which we now have of *Irenæus's* on that Subject, in that therein we have not the least Mention of *Florinus*, nor of the Stirs that he and *Blastus* made at *Rome*. Being himself 85 Years old, he was able to confront the Testimony of *Florinus*, tho' likewise very aged.

BESIDES this, *Irenæus* wrote an Oration, [writing Orations being practised by the *Sophists*, and imitated by *Christians*] and these *περὶ Ἑλλήνων*, to the *Greeks*, a Name given by *Christians* to all that were not *Christians*, [a Name affected by the *Macedonians*, who had conquered the Eastern Countries ; and given to the *Romans*, after their Conquest of them.] The Title of this Oration is *περὶ ἐπιστήμης*, i. e. of Science, acquired by Demonstration : This was then pretended to, with respect to the highest Mysteries, by *Heathens* ; which *Christians* refuted, that they might substitute Faith in its room, and shew that such perfect Science was only to be found in a future State. This probably was the Subject of *Irenæus's* Oration ; written in a Time of Peace, and probably under *Commodus*.

ANOTHER Oration of *Irenæus*, is to his Brother *Marcianus*, *εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τῆς Ἀποστολικῆς κηρύγματος*. [Here Mr. *Dodwell* shews the Office of *Κήρυκες*, as Publishers of the Decrees of *Kings* and of *God*, and given to the Apostles : Here he speaks of the *κήρυγμα* of *S. Peter*, forged anciently before *Irenæus's* Time by some *Ebionite*, at length brought into the *Clementine Recognitions*. These *Recognitions* he shews had been published in divers Forms, and gives the Reason of the Name

Αἰα-

Ἀναγνωρισμοί.] That, seeing this κήρυγμα appeared under the Name of S. Peter, and possibly others might then under the Names of other Apostles, *Irenæus* probably wrote this, to discover which were the genuine Writings of the Apostles; and this directed to *Marcianus*, who then too much favoured spurious Writings, and after turned Heretick, if he be the same whom *Serapion* mentions; Ἐπίδειξις the same with ἀπόδειξις, *Demonstration*; wherein 'tis probable, that, as *Irenæus* had by the by in his other Books, so here he on purpose compares the κηρύγματα, the true Doctrines of the Apostles, with those the Hereticks pretended as such; and evinces the Truth of them, by the concurrent Testimony of so many who had received them from the Apostles; answerably to what *Tertullian* has done in his *Prescriptions*.

THE next Book of *Irenæus* was his διαλέξεις διάφοροι, which Mr. *Dodwell* shews were Treatises or Instructions delivered by Teachers to their Scholars, chiefly by Word of Mouth. Ὁμιλίαι were the same. Here *Irenæus*, who had the Gift (διδασκαλίας) of Teaching, sustains the Person of a Teacher of a School. [Such were among the Heathen Philosophers, and also among Christians, as before among the Jews.] In which he taught not rhetorically, as the Sophists, but plainly delivered what he had received as Apostolical Traditions, from *Papias*, and from *Polycarp*, who had conversed with S. John, and delivered what he had from him, and what he had heard of the Sayings of CHRIST, and of His Miracles, from Eye-Witnesses. With these he might also teach such

such Doctrinals, as he directs others to teach, *l. i. c. 4.* [Here Mr. Dodwell shews how differently the *Ancient Fathers* argued about *Traditions*, from what the *Romanists* now do.] Possibly some Fragments of these διαλέξεις of *Irenæus* might be in those made by *Hippolytus*, (who probably might be a Hearer of him) as also by *Caius*, whose *Labyrinthus* was a Collection out of several Authors. Mr. Dodwell (from what *Photius* has given us of him) guesses what he might take from *Josephus*, what from *Justin Martyr*, and what from *Irenæus*, i. e. from these διαλέξεις. These are called διάφοροι, as being written on various Subjects, and in divers Manners; and such which he taught in his School in his old Age, in *Victor's* Time: And it must be late, if *Hippolytus* and *Caius* were his Scholars.

THE last of *Irenæus's* Works are his *Epistles*; not only that to *Blastus* of *Schism*, and those to *Florinus*, one of *Monarchy*, the other of *Ogdoas*, of which before: But also that to *Victor* in the Paschal Controversy, [by some styled Λόγος, because an accurate Tract.] Here Mr. Dodwell considers the Reasons why the *Roman* Custom of Keeping *Easter*, when of a later Beginning, found more Abettors even in the East, than that of the *Lydian Asians*, who pleaded *Apostolick* Tradition. This he attributes (1.) to the Multitude of *Roman* Colonies brought into *Asia* by *Hadrian*, after the immense Slaughter of the *Jews*, (as into *Achaia*, from the Love he had to that Country) as he did on the same Reason into *Egypt*, *Cyrene*, &c. And (2.) then to the Hatred that Christians had at that Time against the *Jews*,

Jews, their great Enemies; and that hence this would not comply with them in the Time of Keeping *Easter*: Also to the Multitude of *Roman Garrisons* every where; and the Kindness the *Heathen Romans* express'd to the *Christians* in the *East*. The Epistle of the *Church of Lyons and Vienna*, is also thought to be written by *Irenæus*, and is cited as his by *OEcumenius*.

Irenæus purposed to write a particular Book against *Marcion*, (but 'tis probable he lived not to do it) to confute him out of that Part of the *Holy Scriptures*, which were owned by *Marcion* as such, and against which he made no Objections.

Photius tells us, that *Hippolytus* wrote against the *Dositheans* and *Noëtians*, and that what he wrote was an Abridgment of what *Irenæus* had written on those Subjects. Of the *Dositheans*, we find nothing in *Irenæus's* Works that we have, nor in his Contemporaries. If *Hippolytus* had any thing from him, it must be from what he heard him deliver, or from his διαλέξεις. *Noëtus* was the Scholar of *Sabellius*, who appeared *An. Dom. 257.* and hence long after his Time. But seeing he taught the same Heresy, that *Praxeas*, and before him *Simon*, and some Heretical *Jews* had taught, *Hippolytus* might make use of what *Irenæus* wrote against that Heresy, which the *Noëtians* had revived.

HERETO Mr. *Dodwell* has added, by Way of *Appendix*, an excellent Fragment of *Philippus Sidetes*, which he found in a *Baroccian MS.* in the *Bodleian Library*. Of this he tells us the Use; as it shews the Age of *Celsus*, and of the Succession of the Readers in the School of *Alexandria*, with

with greater Exactness than others have delivered it; besides other useful Observations, which he has given us in his *Notes* upon it. The first Master of that School was *Athenagoras*, an *Atbenian*, who wrote, and probably spoke his Oration as *Legate* for the Christians of *Alexandria* (probably therefore a Citizen of that City) to the Emperor *Marcus*, (whose Name is here mistaken by the Transcriber.) He went, ἐν τρίβωνι, in the Habit of a Heathen Philosopher, (as some other Christians did) and together with his School wherein he taught Philosophy, he was also *Catechist*. In Teaching which, he was followed by some others who succeeded him in the Catechetical School. He was singularly versed in the *Holy Scriptures*, as *Celsus* boasts that he himself was, that he might the better oppose them, probably acting by *Athenagoras's* Example, thence after him, and an *Alexandrian*, and possibly Prefect of the *Epicurean* School, [erected there (among others) by the Emperor *Marcus*, tho' no Friend to their *Atheistical* Principles, but as being then refined, as were other *Seçts* of Philosophers, as also were the Hereticks among Christians] and hence reckoned an *Epicurean* by *Origen*. *Philippus Sidetes* makes *Clemens* to succeed *Athenagoras* as *Catechist*, (and that truly) and not *Pantenus*; tho' he is called by *Clemens* διδάσκαλος, an Instructor, not of himself; and our *Pantenus*, that is, his Friend, and of the same Communion; especially when *Origen* makes *Pantenus* his immediate Predecessor. Tho' (to reconcile what *Eusebius* says) 'tis possible *Pantenus* might be *Catechist* before he went to convert the *Indians*, (at which

which Time *Clemens* might perform that Office) and then again upon his Return. *Philippus* makes *Pantæus* born at *Athens*, from whence the *Alexandrians* fetched the Governors of their Schools. Some make him a *Stoick*, tho' here he's called a *Pythagorean*, which might happen from his Teaching, together with the other, what was excellent in the *Pythagoreans*, as the ἐκλεκτικὴ Sect did. Tho' S. *Ferome* supposes a Vacancy in this School, yet Mr. *Dodwell* supposes the contrary: If we make *Dionysius* to preside in the School after he was Bishop, *Pierius* to succeed him, when dead, in his School, (tho not in his See); and *Theognostus* to succeed *Pierius*, then *Serapion*, then *Peter* the Martyr. This Account came from *Rhodon*, who, being an *Alexandrian*, was better acquainted with this Succession than S. *Ferome*. *Theognostus* is cited by *Athanasius* for the Word ὁμοῖος, and thence a Person of Note, and not very late: And *Serapion* is mentioned by *Epiphanius*, as having a *Laura*, or Church, in *Alexandria*, in the Time of *Arius*. *Macarius*, who succeeded *Peter*, is here styled Πολιτικός, and by others ἀγός, one who lived in the City, to distinguish him from another *Macarius* an *Ascetick*, who lived in the *Wilderness*. In the Days of *Theodosius* the Elder, [so Mr. *Dodwell* thinks μεγάλη ought to be render'd, as when given to *Constantine*, *Valentinian*, *Leo*, to distinguish them from the Juniors of that Name] *Rhodon* brought his School to *Side*. Hence it was after *An. Dom.* 379, and before that of 395. *Philippus* was *Rhodon's* Scholar. He is mentioned by *Socrates*, who wrote his History *An. Dom.* 439. He was Competitor for the See of

of Constantinople, A. D. 425, with *Sisinnius*; and in the Year 427, with *Nestorius*. But seeing we find him not Competitor with *Maximianus*, *An. Dom.* 433, we may suppose him dead before that Time; and that he wrote, or at least finished, his History, after the Year 425, seeing he mentions the Consecration of *Sisinnius*; and before the Year 433.

To the End of this Work Mr. *Dodwell* subjoins a Chronological Table of the Things he had Occasion to mention therein.

I FIND, that Mr. *Dodwell's* Friends, and among others Dr. *Thomas Smith*, in a Letter, *Oct.* 30, 1697, would have engaged him to prosecute this Work, and to give the World an *History* of the *Hereticks* of the First and Second Centuries, as that which would have been of great Use, and advantageous to the Common Cause of Christianity, which has of late been so impudently attacked by the *Socinians*; but he was diverted by other Undertakings.



CHAP. XVII.

*The Weakness of the Papists
Pretence of being misrepresented.*



ABOUT the Time that Mr. *Dodwell* was employed, by his Professorship, in the Study of History, and this in order to communicate his great Knowledge thereof to others, a Province suited to his *Genius*, in which he made so vast a Proficiency, and hence, no question, was singularly delightful to him; He did not at that Time neglect the Concerns of *Religion*, and the Defence of the *Church of England*, when it stood in need thereof, as being then attacked by its Enemies the *Romanists*; and these encouraged and countenanced in their Attempts by a Sovereign Prince of their own Persuasion. (a) This had been a Season for Mr. *Dodwell*, had he been a *Papist*, (as his uncharitable Adversaries would have persuaded the World he was) to have discovered himself, and thereby advanced himself to the Favour of his Sovereign, and the Acquisition of such

(a) *It is possible, that this was written before he was chosen Professor, tho' in that Year.*

Preferments and Dignities, that might have been rationally thence expected: But he was so far from this, that he not only reprinted his *Account of the Fundamental Principle of Popery*, &c. (of which I have before given a Summary) but also prefixed a *Preface* to it, to evince the Weakness of that *Method* the *Papists* then used, in pretending they were *misrepresented*, and by their *translating* the Bishop of *Meaux* his Explanation of the Doctrines of their *Church*. In this he shews, that if that Bishop had been successful in vindicating their *Church* from what is charged on them, [which others had considered] yet this cannot justify the *English* *Papists* for their refusing to *communicate* with our *Churches* in these Kingdoms. In some of the Disputes (as of *Episcopacy*) we are not concerned. And if we have *Anglican*, as they challenge *Gallican*, Privileges, we have Liberty to determine, in our own Jurisdiction, what they allow to be indifferent in itself; as the *Marriage* of the *Clergy*, *Communion* in both *Kinds*, our having *Liturgies*, and the *Scriptures* in the *Vulgar* Tongue. In which, when Circumstances render it *expedient*, the *Romanists* allow Power in the *Church* to *Dispense*. Consequently, particular *Churches*, which are best Judges of Expediency within their own Jurisdiction, may determine these with respect to themselves; nor ought they to be restrained herein by Foreigners, or any Determination of *Popes*, or even *general Councils*, which are not so competent Judges of Circumstances at second-hand; neither can the Decrees of such Councils oblige them, till they are received by them: Nay, tho' such Things are re-

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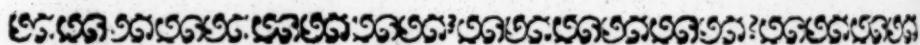
ceived

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ceived in a Church, if they afterwards discern the Inconvenience of them, they have Power to reject them; this being equally in their Power, as it was at first to *refuse* the Reception of them; particular Churches having an absolute Independence in Things of this Nature. However, this obliges private Persons within such a Jurisdiction, to submit to the Constitutions thereof, and not to withdraw from Communion with it, as not being competent Judges of the Determinations of their Superiors. This the *Papists* argue in respect to the *Hugonots*, which is shewn to hold more strongly with respect to *Recusants* in England; especially, seeing the Things that the *Romanists* impose are in themselves *unreasonable*; as *Prayers* in an *unknown Tongue*, and *Denying the Cup to the Laity*; when they cannot shew what can make these Things expedient now, which might not be urged with respect to the *Primitive Ages* of the Church. Nay farther, supposing the Authority of both Churches equal, yet our Church in these Kingdoms hath several Advantages above theirs: In that (1.) our Church extends its Authority only over its own Subjects, and in its own Jurisdiction; theirs over others, and in other Jurisdictions. (2.) Our Practices are more safe; as to worship GOD without Images; to put up our Prayers thro' one great Intercessor, CHRIST. If Images, and making Saints Intercessors, be unlawful, (abstracting from the Charge of Idolatry) the *Romanists* violate Church Communion, by imposing these sinful Things as Terms thereof. Supposing they could clear several of their Practices from being sinful, this would only oblige their

their *own* Subjects to acquiesce in their Determinations, and not to separate from them; but does not prove, that the *Disuse* of these is unlawful, when allowed by a lawful Authority within its own Jurisdiction, nor, that 'tis not within their Power to *forbid* such Things as *Invocation of Saints*, &c. at least, to impose publick Offices that require none of these. No; Separating from a *Church*, because of the Use of such Offices, is schismatical; and much more is it so, for Persons to join with another *Church*, that is at open Hostility against the Communion of the Jurisdiction they live in. Therefore 'tis incumbent on the *Romanists* to shew that our Constitutions are *sinful*, and unlawful for *Subjects* to *practise*, as well as for *Superiors* to *impose*: In which Case only 'tis lawful for Subjects to separate from our Communion. But if we must be Aggressors, we can shew that they have innovated in Matters of *Faith*, and that herein they must own, that we have not *misrepresented* them; and they cannot deny, that it is unlawful to communicate with Hereticks. This would justify our Non-communicating with them, supposing we owed *Subjection* to them, as they pretend. *Private* Bishops have condemned *Heresies*, and looked on other Bishops obliged to ratify such Censures, before the Determination of Councils, as *Alexander* did *Arius*: So others. The Bishop of *Meaux* goes not about to shew, that *Transubstantiation*, &c. are not imposed by their *Church*, as Conditions of their Communion. The Ground of their Pretence to define Matters of Faith authoritatively, is their Pretence to *Infallibility*, and this

this ultimately resolved into their Pretence to be the *Catholick Church*, and this at length into the *Catholick Church Virtual*, the *Pope*. [This proved in the following Discourse.] If their Doctrine is misrepresented, why do they refuse to communicate with us? If they refuse this, they unjustly charge us with Misrepresentations. Their false Pretensions to Infallibility has made them persist in their Errors, tho' discovered inconsistent with *Catholick Tradition*. This he shews to be the *fundamental Principle of Popery* in the first Tract, (to which he prefixes this *Preface*) and therein manifests the Weakness of this Foundation.



C H A P. XVIII.

His Election to be Camdenian History Professor in Oxford, and his Lectures.

OW greatly Mr. *Dodwell's* Skill in History was esteemed in the University of *Oxford*, appears by their choosing him to be the Professor of History, founded by Mr. *Camden*, in that University: When this was so far from being sought for by himself, that his Friends Stickling for him was unknown to him, he being then at a great distance from *Oxford*,

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in *Shropshire*. (b) When likewise a Person considerable for his Birth, being Son to the Earl of *Winchelsea*, one of great Worth, and of great Interest in the University, stood in Competition with him. That worthy Body, one of the great Glories of this Kingdom, did, as becomes all Persons entrusted with Elections, set aside all other Respects, and consider'd who was best fitted for this noble Employment. This they were assured Mr. *Dodwell* was, from that Personal Knowledge many of them had of him, whilst he for some Time resided among them; and from some Specimens that he had given them of his extraordinary Insight into *History*, and accurate Skill in *Chronology*. Neither were they disappointed in their Expectations, or had any Reason to repent, or be ashamed of their Choice. So far was it from that, that learned Men of this and foreign Nations highly approved and applauded it, when they saw his Lectures which he read among them; whatever Thoughts they might entertain of his Dismission from that Province, which he managed to his own, and his Electors Honour, as well as their Delight and Benefit. This I come now to give an Account of.

MR. *Dodwell* made *Prælectionem Inauguralem* his Lecture upon his first Entering on his *Camdenian* Professorship, on *May 25. 1688*. In this, having premised the Sense of his own Inability, and the

(b) *The worthy Penner of his elegant Epitaph seems to intimate, as if he was chosen when at Dublin. This may be well excused, in that from the Time he left Dublin, to the Time he enter'd upon this Station, he lived in Obscurity, and thence that Time deserved not his Notice.*

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Learning and Judiciousness of his Auditors, he came to shew the Weight of his Undertaking from the Difficulty of the *Work* itself. In respect to *History*; from the Multitude and Variety of the Monuments to be collected, and the Difficulty there is in discerning true and genuine Writers from fabulous; and in the first, where are Interpolations, and where Deficiencies, &c. In respect to *Chronology*, (of which he shews the singular Usefulness) the still greater Difficulty; which he evidences from the Antiquities of *Greece*. No *Annals* before *Thucydides*; little of true History before *Darius Hystaspes*; the Accounts of *Cyrus* being wholly different from each other, in *Herodotus*, *Xenophon*, and *Ctesias*. What we have of the *Athenian Archontes* being little earlier, and these little fitted for publick Use, till *Demetrius Phalereus* did it, when appointed Governor of *Athens* by *Cassander*; and then the Accounts thereof are lame and imperfect; yea, even then when the *Archontes* were reckoned with the *Olympiads*; in that a great many *Olympiads* were passed, before they began to reckon by *Olympiads*. Neither *Herodotus*, nor *Thucydides*, nor even *Xenophon*, reckon by them. Each City of *Greece* reckon'd its *Confederacies*, *Decrees*, &c. by the *Magistrates* that then governed. Some Historians adjusted this, by reckoning the concurrent *Archons* of *Athens*, *Boatarchæ* of *Thebes*, &c. and who were *Conquerors* then at the *Olympick Games*; this last being used before they reckoned by *Olympiads*: Of *Conquerors* therein they found no Mention in *written History*, but collected them from *Pillars*, or the like Monuments; and this very late,

it being not begun before the Fiftieth *Olympiad*, and then imperfectly. The first that reduced them to any Certainty, was *Timæus Siculus*. Whatever is told us of the Affairs of Greece before the *Olympiads*, is generally reputed *fabulous*. How could Times before *Cadmus* be known, when he was the Inventor of Letters? Or before there were *Archives*, or before *Magistrates* were instituted, that were Keepers of those *Archives*, which were kept as sacred in *Temples*? Besides this, the Uncertainty of their Years, whether of one, two, or three Months, or ten, whether *Lunar* or *Solar*, and the several Calculations of different Countries, renders their Chronology uncertain. But tho' there be these Difficulties, yet the vast Advantages, (which he briefly touches) counter-balance them: And that hence Mr. *Camden's* Memory is valuable, who founded a Lecture in order to advance the Study of it.

IN that which he calls his *First Proœmial Lecture*, which was Oct. 19. 1688, he declares what Authors he chose to read upon, viz. those who are called *Historiæ Augustæ Scriptores*, that wrote the History of the *Roman* Emperors from the Time of *Trajan*, to that of *Dioclesian*: Times eminent for their valiant Warlike Emperors, whom he enumerates; as also for the Affairs of the *Church*, (which last Mr. *Camden* had forbidden him to treat of) and for what was then laid as a Foundation of the *Civil* or *Roman Laws*. But then he shews the Difficulties that accompany the Reading these Historians, (as of the Times they write of) from the *Conciseness* of their *Style*, and the *Method* they use, like that of *Suetonius*, not Digesting Af-

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fairs into Order of Time. He then shews how hard it is to distinguish some of these from each other, by the Books as published: How little Reason to think that this proceeded from the Historians themselves, as he largely manifests: That the only Way left to distinguish them, is from the *Lives* themselves: That *Spartianus* (as appears from his Preface) wrote the Life of *Ælius Verus*, and by Consequence of *Hadrian*, which he cites in the other; and wrote these when *Dioclesian* was Emperor, to whom there's Intimation that he dedicated them, from his Mention of the *Two Augusti* in the Life of *Ælius*, suitable to what was done by *Dioclesian*. That probably he wrote also the Lives of *Pius*, *Marcus*, and *Verus*, (tho' usually attributed to *Capitolinus*) by his referring to these in other Lives: So also that of *Commodus* (tho' the common Editions ascribe it to *Lampridius*); As also of *Pertinax*, and *Didius Julianus*; for which he cites the *Excerpta Palatina* of *Salmasius*; which tho' they make *Spartianus* also the Author of the Life of *Avidius Cassius*, yet Mr. *Dodwell* shews it was written by another, probably *Vulcatius Gallicanus*, (and this before *Spartianus* undertook his Work) whose Design seems to be to write only the Lives of *Tyrants*: Or if with a Design to continue *Spartianus*, and (as in *Lecture Second*, Oct. 26.) prevented by Death, then succeeded by *Lampridius*, who wrote under *Dioclesian*, and gives us the Life of *Severus*. But then the Lives of *Niger* and *Albinus* were both written by the same Author, *Capitolinus*. For tho' in the common Editions *Niger's* Life is dedicated to *Dioclesian*, *Albinus's* to *Constantine*;

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yet 'tis probable, that in the former of these, *Constantine* is to be restored instead of *Dioclesian*, the Name *Maximus* being given to *Constantine*, in Inscriptions, &c. and never to *Dioclesian*, which Title is given to the Emperor by him who writes the Life of *Niger*. Hence *Capitolinus* must be the Author of the Lives written under *Constantine*, viz. of *Caracalla*, *Geta*, *Macrinus*; which appears probable, in that as *Tatius Cyrillus* had, by *Constantine's* Command, out of Greek Authors, written the Lives of the Roman Emperors; so *Capitolinus* did his, out of the Writings both of Greeks (whom he cites) and *Latins*, dedicating them to *Constantine*: And from his citing *Cordus*, it appears, that he was not the same who wrote other Lives, in that they never mention him, tho' there was Occasion for it.

IN *Lecture Third*, (*Nov. 2.*) he concludes, that *Capitolinus* wrote the Life of *Diadumenus*, as he had done that of his Father *Macrinus*; also of *Heliogabalus*, and this dedicated (as that of *Diadumenus*) to *Constantine*, as one who was delighted with whatever was written of the *Antonini*. [This, and those that come after, seem to be written after *Constantine* had conquered *Licinius*, and agree to the latter End of his Reign.] Tho' *Heliogabalus* deserved not the Name of *Antonine*, yet *Alexander* did. The same Author that wrote *Alexander's* Life, wrote not that of *Sept. Severus*, but he did that of *Niger*. *Capitolinus* was the undoubted Author of the Lives of the two *Maximins*, and of the three *Gordians*, the latter of whom he at first designed to have written in a peculiar Tract. [He collected his History

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ry out of others, and would not pass over even what *Cordus*, a trifling Author, wrote, that deserved *Constantine's* Notice. 'Tis much then, that he should take no Notice of that Noble Historian *Dio Cassius*:] And likewise, of the Lives of *Maximus* and *Balbinus*. Mr. *Dodwell* observes one thing, which occasioned the Confusion in digesting the Lives written by these Historians, that some divided them into such who wrote the Lives of them that were *lawful* Emperors, and others that wrote the Lives of them that were only *Cæsars*, or *Tyrants*. But this last he prosecutes in his

FOURTH *Proœmial Lecture*, (Nov. 9.) and shews, this was not done by the Historians themselves, tho' probably occasioned by some Passages in them, who make a Distinction of the *Augusti* from *Cæsars* and *Tyrants*; among which last, *Geta* is wrongfully placed, who had equal Authority (manifested in many respects) with *Caracalla*. Tho' possibly, after his Death, placed by his Brother among *Tyrants*, to palliate his Murder. 'Tis true, *Pollio* and *Vopiscus* wrote of *Tyrants*, and *Pollio* made them 30, not that he could bring them to that Number, but in Allusion to the 30 *Tyrants* at *Athens*; bringing in two *Women* into the Number, and when laughed at for it, inserting two who lived at another time; but with these he intermix'd *lawful* Princes. . If these last Writers did not distinguish between *Tyrants* and *lawful* Emperors, who yet wrote the Lives of *Tyrants*, much less did any other of these Historians, and particularly not *Capitolinus*: And consequently, that Distinction before-mentioned, which is made of these

these Writers in the Books of *Egnatius*, was made after their Times; tho' pretty early.

AFTER this Mr. *Dodwell* shews, that *Capitolinus* designed not the Continuation of *Spartianus*, and the other *Dioclesian* Writers, but of *Suetonius*, and of *Marius Maximus*, from the Time of *Nerva*: And that the Annexing *Capitolinus* to *Spartianus*, &c. to make One Body of History, was later than *Pollio* and *Vopiscus*, yet elder than those who divided them into such as treated of true *Augusti*, and those that wrote of *Cæsars* and *Tyrants*. Betwixt the Time of *Maximus* and *Balbinus*, and that of *Valerian*, there's a Chasm. This some later Collectors have supplied out of *Eutropius*. The Lives of the *Valeriani* are written by *Trebellius Pollio*, [but we have not that Work entire; which appears from References here made to what he wrote, which we want] as are also those of the *Gallieni*: *Vopiscus* mentions *Pollio*, as beginning his History from the two *Philippi*, and bringing it down to *Claudius*. If he began from the *Philippi*, 'tis probable that *Capitolinus* there ended his History.

IN *Lecture Proæm. Fifth*, (Nov. 16.) he shews, that *Pollio* was Author of the Book of the *Thirty Tyrants*, and of that of *Claudius* and *Quintillus*, written *Rhetorically*, more like a *Panegyrick* than a *History*. He promised other Lives, but probably never wrote them. *Pollio* dedicated his Books not to *Constantine*, but to his Father *Constantius Chlorus*, before (tho' but little) that *Dioclesian* resigned his Empire; by his Mention of *Dioclesian's Baths*, and the large Off-spring of *Constantius*. *Vopiscus's* Design was the Continuation

tion of *Pollio* ; that he wrote the Lives of *Aurelian*, then of *Tacitus*, and *Florianus*, after of *Probus*, then of *Tyrants*, in which (according to his former Custom) he promises the Lives of *Carus*, *Carinus*, and *Numerianus*, and perhaps of *Dioclesian* ; that of *Carus* and his Children he lived to finish. *Vopiscus* wrote his Books at several times, and dedicated them to several Friends : That of *Aurelian*, while *Dioclesian* reigned, and while *Tiberianus* was *Præfectus Urbis* ; the rest after *Dioclesian* had resigned, and whilst *Constantius* and *Galerius* were *Augusti*, *Constantius* being styled *Imperator*, a Name not given to the *Cæsars* ; and then, when he presages to *Maximian Galerius* a larger Progress of Victories over the *Persians*, being *Augustus*, from what he had achieved over them formerly, whilst only *Cæsar* ; yet in the Beginning of his Empire, and whilst *Constantius* was alive ; as is fully proved by the State of Affairs then, compared with what followed ; and this written in *haste*, lest he should be prevented by Death ; as is shewn

IN the *Sixth Proœmial Lecture*, (*Nov. 23.*) Hence, *Anno Domini* 305 and 306, whilst he was but young, in that he cites his *Grandfather* for things done in, and but a little before, *Dioclesian's* Time, and probably was but little younger than *Pollio*. Query, But how is this consistent, that *Vopiscus*, if he wrote under *Constantius Chlorus*, should mention *Capitolinus*, who wrote under *Constantine* ? *Ans.* 'Tis probable that he might live a considerable time after he had written those Books ; and then, upon revising, might make those Additions, after *Capitolinus* had published

lished his History, and in those mentioned him; as he made some other Insertions here mentioned; as the *Bibliotheca Ulpia*, his Friend *Celsinus*, who was entrusted with that Library, as he was *Præfectus Urbis*, &c. It might have been expected, that he should have written the Lives of *Dioclesian*, and of the *Maximinians*, which he proposed; but deferred that to the Death of those Emperors. And, when after there was so great a Change, as that their Memory was blasted, he could not, without Inconvenience, write any thing (as he designed) in their Praise; and besides this, possibly he might be an Enemy to Christianity. It was not from *Pollio* and *Vopiscus* that we receive the Continuation of *Capitolinus*, but from some later Writers; such as *Aurelius Victor*, who yet had never seen *Capitolinus*, nor *Pollio*, nor yet *Vopiscus*; in that he gives a different, and often a contrary Account of Things from those Authors; [and that, probably, *Severus* was the Historian from whom he took his Narrative;] as do the following Epitomators, *Eutropius*, *Rufus Festus*, and *Orosius*, who had never (as is evident) seen those former Historians.

MR. *Dodwell* having dispatched these Observations, as preparatory to his Work, he then came to the History itself, and begins a new Sett of Prelections; all which are concerning *Adrian*.

FIRST Lecture, Dec. 2. 1688, is of *Adrian*, out of *Spartian*. He tells us when *Adrian* was born, Jan. 24. Anno Domini 76. and died, aged 62 Years, 5 Months, and 17 Days. This Account, tho' differing from what others give, must needs be exact, forasmuch as *Spartian* had opportunity
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of knowing these things from the annual Celebration of the *Birth-Days* of Emperors, who were *Divi*; these having *Flamens*, for this and other Ends: This Honour (tho' denied, or partially given, to others) is retained in the *Kalendars*, as due to *Hadrian*; and this in Honour to the *Antonini*, who were brought by him to the Empire. Here Mr. *Dodwell* took occasion to discourse of these *Kalendars* that preserved the Memory of the *Birth*, the *Access* to the Empire, and also all considerable *Exploits* of the Emperors: From whence, the Author of *Commodus's* Life preserved what he recounts of this Kind. The Care of these was committed to succeeding Emperors, as they were *Pontifices Maximi*. [From which Office, *Julius* and *Augustus* took on them to intercalate the *Bissextus*.] And other Nations entrusted this to *Priests*, because the *Sacred Solemnities* depended thereon. Hence, besides *Private*, there were *Publick Sodalitia* of *Priests*, appointed proper to particular Families of Emperors, from whom they were denominated, as *Antoniniani*, &c. And also to particular Emperors of that Family: Probably begun by *Nerva*, or *Trajan*; [tho' before, to the Families of the *Augusti*, begun when the Title of *Augustus* was given to *Octavianus*; and after the *Sodales Flaviales*, in Honour of *Vespasian's* Family, the *Gens Flavia*;] yea, even so as to be instituted in the Honour of *Women*, and of *Children*. Besides these *Sodales*, there were *Flamines*, (*Archiflamines* in *Julian's* Reign, was in Imitation of *Christians*;) and *Salii*. These properly belonged to *Mars*. But when the *Roman Emperors* affected *Divine Honours*,

Honours, they would have *Salii*, as *Mars* had; and have *Golden Shields* carried yearly, in their Honour, into the *Capitol*, as *Mars* had his *Ancilia*. Over these were *Præsides* and *Magistri*. These Honours were instituted as *perpetual*; and continued even in the Time of *Constantine*. The Celebration of their great *Actions* seems to be only in the Time of their immediate Successors, that of their *Nativity* perpetual: Tho' possibly this last, only from the Time of *Tacitus*; that as afore, the deify'd Emperors had their proper *Temples*, he had one common for all the *Divi*, in which their *Natales* were commemorated: By that, their Honour seems to be lessened, they were not to be esteemed *Gods*, but *Heroes*; not to be worshipped with *Sacrifices*, but *Libations*. Before which, *Alexander Severus* had his *Lararia* for noble *Souls*, distinct from *Temples* in Honour of *Gods*. *Ludi Circenses* were performed in Honour of these deified Emperors. There were *Natales Imperii*, in remembrance of the Access to the Empire. These only during their own Lives: Those of their *Birth* is to be understood, when *Natalis* is simply mentioned: In the Observation of which, they made their *Presages* of acquiring their Empire. This last he prosecutes in

SECOND Lecture, April 19. 1689. wherein he shews, how much they ascribed to *Fortune* in Acquisition of the Empire, and in their Exploits; and that even the *Roman State* was guided by *Auspicia*, and would not undertake any great Affairs without the Use of them. Then was a *Golden Image* of *Fortune* among the Imperial *Insignia*. This *Severus* ordered to be one day with
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Caracalla, another day with *Geta*, when he made them *equal* Emperors. Hence also *Felix* was one of the Imperial Titles. By *Fortune* they understood the *Tutelar Genius* of the Emperor: A *Dæmon*; and a *bad* one it was esteemed by *Christians*, who thence refused to swear by it. These the *Heathens* eyed as *tutelar* Deities, and esteemed those *εὐδαιμονας*, happy, who had the most powerful *Dæmon*: For they fancied a Contention among them in behalf of their Homagers. This *Genius*, they imagined, presided on their *Birth-Day*, being appointed their Guardian at their *Birth*. Astrologers make *δαίμων* and *τύχη* the same: Others make them distinct, and so they seem to be, *Isa.* lxx. 11. attributing *δαίμων* to the *Sun*, *τύχη* to the *Moon*; (as *Plato* his *κράτηρ* of *Νῆς* to the *Sun*, that of *ψύχη* to the *Moon*;) and both of these were worship'd by the *Heathens*: To *τύχη* and *ψύχη*, whose Seat was the *Moon*, they offered a *Libation*, chiefly in consulting the Dead for Fortunes. 'Tis probable, the idolatrous *Jews* are taxed for this by *Isaiah*, (comparing *ver.* 4.) as their eating *Sacrifices* (expressed by *preparing a Table*) in Honour of the *Sun*. Hence, tho' *Libations* were used for private Persons, yet the *Natales* of Emperors were celebrated with *Sacrifices*. That the *Genii* of the Persons (and so of People and Cities) were worshipped on their *Natales*, is generally acknowledged, and received that Name from *Genitura*. From this Celebration of the Emperor's Birth-Day, *Spartian* could not but certainly know that of *Hadrian*; especially, when they gathered their superstitious *Omens* and *Presages* from thence, and their

their *dies fasti* and *nefasti*. Nay, even private Persons of Rank observed their *Birth-Days* with great Ceremony and *Genethliack* Poems and Orations : And the Memory of them was preserved by *Sepulchral* Monuments and *Annual* Commemorations, and these *solemn* and (in their Thoughts) *sacred*. These *dies emortuales*, joined to the Account of the Years, &c. of their Life, preserved that of their Birth. This likewise was preserved by the *Matricula*, the Registers used by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, wherein the Names of the Children of *Ingenui*, free-born Citizens, were enrolled, on the receiving their Names, and their *Lustrations*, on the 7th, 8th, or 9th Day after their Birth. This was to be done the 30th Day, by *Marcus's* Decree : Tho' the Custom was ancient, of having an *Ἀπογραφὴ*, or *Descriptio* of *Roman* Citizens, as under *Augustus*, when *CHRIST* was born ; to which Records, *S. Justin M.* appealed for that of our Saviour, cited by others. This Custom was highly beneficial in Disputes at Law, even in recording the very Day of each Citizen's Birth.

THIRD *Lecture*, Apr. 26. 1689. shews, how *Adrian* might be born at *Rome*, and yet withall be *Civis Italicensis*. How his Ancestors might be Citizens of *Rome*, and at the same time Citizens of *Adria* in *Picenum*, which was *Municipium Italicense*. How the *Piceni* were admitted Citizens of *Rome*, in order to put an End to the *Bellum Sociale*, or *Italicum*, 159 Years before *Adrian* was born. On this Occasion, he considers the Rights of *Colonies* and *Municipia*, and supposes *Colonies* to consist of those who were originally

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Romans;

Romans, and hence retain their Right of Citizens; *Municipia* to be of them who were *Strangers*, who obtained the Privilege of *Roman Citizens*; yet so, as not to lose the *Rights* of those Cities to which they originally belonged; and chose to be *denominated* from the City where they were born, and to which they owed their Original, rather than to a more noble City, of which they enjoyed their Freedom. [As *Adrian* from *Adria*, an usual Custom of taking Names from *Places*, as that from *Families*, as *Fabiani*, &c. when adopted into it: And that of *Italicensis*, when the Privilege was granted to many Cities of *Italy*, of which there was no *Metropolis*.] *Apion* is reproached, for disowning his own Country, by *Josephus*; and *Alexander Severus*, for refusing to be called a *Syrian*: The Reason of which Refusal was, because *Slaves* were usually named from their Country, and *Syrus* was an usual Name of them, and, consequently, not proper for an *Emperor*: Especially, when the *Syrians* were of a *servile* Nature; and seeing their *Kings* were most *arbitrary*, this Name would have been very *odious* to the *Romans*, and hence was wisely declined by a *prudent* Emperor, who knew what *Presages* were made from *Names* assumed. *Adrian* less honourable than *Marcus*. Those honourable, that were anciently *Romans*; those more so, whose Ancestors had been anciently *Consuls*, &c. and those most so esteemed, who had their *Triumphs*. He then shews, how falsely *Victor* makes *Adrian* a Foreigner.

FOURTH *Lecture*, May 5. 1689. on occasion of *Trajan's* being one of the Guardians of
Adrian,

Adrian, after *Trajan* had been *Prætor*, Mr. *Dodwell* settles the Time of his *Birth*, his being *Prætor*, &c. and shews *Dio's* Error in making his going against *Decebalus*, to be in the 42d Year of his Age, and whilst Emperor; whereas, in truth, it must be under *Domitian*, if at that Age of 42.

He obtained a Laurel for what he did in *Parthia*, under *Corbulo*, who was killed by *Nero*, *Anno Domini* 66. After *Tiridates* had been at *Rome*, whose Journey took up nine Months, before the *Jewish* War began, and therefore, *Anno Domini* 65. *Anno Ætat.* xii. he was employed as *Tribune* in the Siege of *Japha*, *Anno Ætat.* xv. as *Adrian* was under him, *Anno Ætat.* xx. The *Generals* then choosing *Tribunes*, (tho' the *People* or *Senates* did it formerly :) Neither was Age then required.

HOWEVER, if what *Dion* says of him, taken thus, be not true, Mr. *Dodwell* shews, 'tis impossible it should be true in the other Sense, viz. to be acted when *Adrian* was Emperor; because then *Trajan* could not be 60 Years old when he died, and on other Reasons from the Account of Time there given, and several Transactions there recounted. Another Error of *Dion* is, his making *Trajan* an *Iberian*, neither an *Italian*, nor of an *Italian* Race; when all others make him to be of the same *Italick* Colony with *Adrian*; and particularly *Pliny*, against whom there can be no Exception. Here, what *Lipsius* says in defence of *Dion*, is answered. *Dion* erred in saying, that *Trajan* had the Title of *Optimus* given him, on his Conquest of *Armenia*, when *Pliny* shews 'twas before; and it is inconsistent with what *Dion* him-

himself declares, of the Reason of this Appellation, viz. his Acts of Beneficence, which Mr. *Dodwell* recounts, and all before the Time assigned by *Dion*. Besides several *Nummi* coined before that Time, that gave him that Title, with *S. Cyprian*, which shew, that 'twas decreed by the Senate, and came not from private Persons.

ANOTHER Error of *Dion's* is, his telling that *Trajan* was at *Rome* at his first Access to the Empire, when (as appears in *Pliny*) he was among barbarous Nations in *Germany*, in his second Consulship; as he was also in the beginning of the third.

ANOTHER Error is, that he represents the Affairs of the *Romans* to be left in an ill Condition by *Trajan*, as if the Provinces conquered by him were, at his Death, in danger to be lost. This was taken from some Author by *Dion*, (as the other Errors were) and this as spitefully reflecting on *Trajan*, to advance the Honour of *Adrian*. The Malignity of which Author appears, in his lessening the Victories of *Trajan*, owning none else to be conquered by him but *Armenia* and *Mesopotamia*: Whereas (besides others) he conquered the *Indians* that bordered on *Arabia*, and extended his Conquests as far as that *India* which was conquer'd by *Alexander*. This less advantageous Account of *Trajan's* Successes happened from the defective Account given by them who wrote under *Adrian*, who durst not, under him, (who envied *Trajan's* Glory, and deserted the Provinces he had conquered) tell the glorious Actions of his Predecessor. These were

Dion's

Dion's Mistakes, who otherwise is justly valued as an excellent Historian.

HADRIAN had Two Tutors. This agreeable to the Roman Laws. Their Trust might be divided according to the *Regiones*, Tribes or Wards of the City, and that of Italy, divided into 14, answering to those of the City. Probably Trajan might be Hadrian's Guardian in the City, Attianus in the Country.

FIFTH Prelection, May 10. 1689. shews, how Hadrian laid aside his *Prætextam*, ended the Years of his *Pueritia*, and took on him *Togam Virilem*, the Badge of *Adolescentia*, in the Entrance of the 15th Year of his Age; and was freed then from Subjection to *Tutores*, (tho' Augustus at the Beginning of his 16th Year) yet Tiberius, so Caius and Lucius, the Grandsons of Augustus, at that Age; Lucius, on this Reason, petition'd the Consulship for his Brother, as having arrived at that Age, by the Example of Augustus, who was Consul in the 20th Year of his Age, that is, that he might then be appointed to that Office, five Years after to enjoy it. The like is shewn of Nero; (and, how Age in Princes was not, in After-Times, regarded in their Choice to be Consuls.) Of Britannicus, [where the Years of Nero was computed;] Marcus, and Commodus: And the like was observed before the Time of the Emperors; particularly with respect to Marcus, Son of Tullius Cicero, and Virgil.

WHEN any had taken *Virilem Togam*, they were capable of Offices that belonged to Men in the Commonwealth, to become Soldiers, and to receive the Military Stipends: Yet so, as that for

one Year they should wear the *Toga*, which, restraining their Arms, unfitted them for Military Exercises, which the *Sagum* did not. None before that Age could be listed as *Legionary Soldiers*, nor as *Adscriptivi*, *Velites*, &c. the Use of whom is shewn. Tho' in the Days of *Servius Tullius*, the Age was xvii. Which, when disused, *Gracchus* would have re-established, but his Law was quickly repealed. The Year of Old Age and Dismission was lx. Mr. *Dodwell* shews the like among the *Greeks*. Then concludes, with shewing at what Time *Adrian* was made a *Judge*, and when sent as a *Tribune* into the lower *Mæsia*, viz. in the last Years of *Domitian*.

SIXTH *Prelection*, Dec. 12. 1690. shews, how *Trajan* was not at *Coln* (as is usually presumed) when he entred on his Imperial Dignity; but (as appears by *Pliny*) warring near *Danubius*, against the *Daci*, headed by *Decebalus*, whose Articles of Peace with the *Romans* he considers as formerly made, and then afterwards with *Trajan*: That his being, by *Domitian*, sent into *Germany*, was to oppose the *Marcomanni*, and that he had no sooner done it, but, without Delay, he went against the *Daci*: That he sent his *Literas Laureatas*, the Account of his Victory over the *Germanians* (upon which *Nerva* adopted him) out of *Pannonia*, which was on this side *Danubius*, and neighbouring on the *Daci*. And then concludes, by shewing, how agreeable the Circumstances of Time and Place, in *Trajan's* Journey, are to his *Hypothesis*: That he might, in his Passage thro' *Colonia Agrippæ*, receive some Omen of his future

future Empire, that might occasion *Victor's* (above-named) Error.

SEVENTH *Prelection*, Jan. 23. 1690-1. explains a difficult Passage in *Spartian*; shews, that παιδεραστία, if not towards *ingenui*, was not blamed by the *Heathens*; that by *Gallus*, *Trajan's* Favourite, an *Eunuch* is to be understood; and him a *Præfect* over the *Pædagogues* of the obscene *Boys*. Then comes to shew, how *Hadrian* affected *Sortes Virgilianas*, to be like *Numa*, as *Virgil* had described him. [1.] As carrying an *Olive Branch*, which (1.) denoted *Peace*; he following a Warlike *Trajan*, as *Numa* did *Romulus*, and would have *Peace* with the *Barbarians*, tho' on incommodious Terms. And then, (2.) as *Numa* affected the Institution of religious *Ceremonies*, executed the Office of *Pontifex Maximus*, and was initiated in the *Eleusinian Sacra*, which was imitated by succeeding Emperors. [2.] Affecting to have a *Beard*, a Symbol of *Prudence*. His Successors the same. [3.] As Founder of *Laws*. *Numa* from Νόμος. [4.] Neither of them originally *Romans*, but of obscurer Rise.

[*Pius* had the same Affection to be like to *Numa*.]

HERE *Mr. Dodwell* shews, that *Hadrian* guided his Actions *superstitiously*, according to these *Sortes Virgilianæ*, and not according to the *Sibylline Oracles*: And here takes occasion to discourse of the *Sibylline Oracles*, which, he shews, were forged at the End of *Commodus*, or the Beginning of *Severus's* Empire, about *Anno Domini* 194. Which, as they pretend to tell somewhat of the preceding Emperors, so of the De-

struction of that Empire, and the *End* of the World, immediately to happen; and that thus some *Christians* had about that Time prophesied: He considers what *Lucian's Philopatriss* has said to that Purpose; the several *Sibyls*, from *Laëtantius*; the *Tomes* of their Prophecies; and what Mention is made of the *Sibyls* by others, even before the Time that these we have, were forged.

EIGHTH Prelection, Feb. 3. 1690-1. prosecutes what *Hadrian* did, in collecting a *Codex* of *Civil Laws*, and that this laid a Foundation for the *Pandeçts*: That *Edicts* of former Emperors are mentioned, (the *Edicts* of bad Emperors were condemned, being of no Force) but of none but such as were reckoned as *Divi*, or, at least, whilst they were kept in that Number. *Julius* was named *Divus*, till some time of *Trajan's* Empire: 'Tis probable, he was excluded by him, or *Hadrian*, as those pretended to be Restorers of the ancient Liberties of the People of *Rome*, and they hence blotted him out, because he was the great Violator of them, and that robb'd them thereof: Hence none of *Julius's* Laws are to be found in the *Code*. The same he shews, concerning *Commodus* and the first *Claudius*. Yet, tho' there were none who before *Hadrian* collected the *Roman* Laws, yet there were such Emperors before him, whose *Edicts* were ever esteemed valid, (as were those that were before enacted in *liberâ Republicâ* :) And it was the Custom for *Consuls*, at the Entrance of their Office, to be sworn to the Observance of them. Here he shews the Difference of swearing in *Verba*, and that in *Acta*.

Acta. He considers another Reason, why the *Codes* arise no higher than *Hadrian*, as being the Beginning of a new Family by him, of which *Alexander* was the last, and *Hadrian* reckoned *Nerva* the first : But, he thinks, the chief was *Hadrian's* Ambition to imitate *Numa*, and hence enacted so many *new Laws* : And appoints so many new *Offices*, *Palatine*, and *Military*, quite different from what had been in former Times ; which afterwards, with some Changes made by *Constantine*, continued in the *Roman* Empire, and particularly, the *continued*, and not merely *annual*, Obligation of the *Prætor's* Edicts : So the *Provincial* Edicts made by *Proconsuls*, who succeeded in the room of *Prætors* : And this in the Name of *Proconsuls*, which was greater than that of *Consuls* in these Times, as being ascribed to the Emperors themselves. This he prosecutes in the

NINTH *Prelection*, Feb. 23. 1690-1. And shews that there is no Reason to deny it (and so the Office of *Censor* and others) to Emperors, because not expressed in their *Coins* ; these Titles being affixed according to the Emperor's Pleasure ; and that the Title of *Proconsul* was given to Emperors before the Time of *Severus* ; and that the *Imperial* Power over all Provinces and Armies, in the Partition of Provinces betwixt the *Emperor*, and betwixt the *Senate* and *People* of *Rome*, was granted to the Emperor, by making him *Proconsul* ; and by vertue of this, he had under him many *Legatos*. Before *Hadrian's* Time Provinces had *Municipal* Laws, yet so that *Roman Citizens* were subject only to *Roman Laws* : But these
were.

were reduced into a Body by Hadrian, by his Edict. But this was little observed by *Commentators* on the *Civil Law*, because of the Alteration made by *Antoninus*, that is, *Caracalla*; who made all Provinces Citizens of *Rome*, and so, under the *Prætor Urbanus*; as in Buying and Selling under the *Ædilis Curulis*. Hadrian also divided *Italy* (as distinct from *Rome*) into four Parts, to be governed by four Judges, who were *Viri Conulares*, (which was not unacceptable to them) instead of whom *Marcus* brought in *Juridicos*, who were taken away by *Macrinus*. These *Juridici* were distinct from *Juris periti*, Persons skilled in the Law; and from *Juris consulti*, whose Answers were of great Force in Cases: The *Juridici* gave out Edicts, as *Consuls* and *Prætors* had done, yet were without *Liçtors* and *Fasces*. In the room of these, the *Correctores* succeeded. Hadrian innovated much in respect to *Military Discipline*, and particularly in making *Prætenturas limitaneas*, in erecting Fortifications in the Bounds of the *Roman Empire*, to secure them from the Incurfions of their bordering Enemies; as with us *Hadrian's Wall*. Mr. *Dodwell* there shews, why there are in the *Pandects* no *Responsa Juris consultorum* ancients than *Hadrian*, nor later than *Alexander*; and that *Hadrian* settled these Things after his *Return* out of the *East*.

TENTH Prelection, May 8. 91. Upon *Hadrian's* executing it, shews what was the Office of *Quæstor*; and particularly that of Reciting the Orders of the Emperor drawn up in Writing; How *Augustus* began this Practice of committing to Writing, what he had to say to the Senate: (Hence

(Hence the Emperor's *Oration*s had the Force of *Laws*.) And to free himself from troubling his Memory with them, he appointed the *Quæstor* to recite them: Such *Recitation*s being then customary. The Office of *Quæstor* was not confined to the *Treasury*, they among other things were sent with, in order to assist, Governors of Provinces. They were always *Senators*, tho' *Plebeians*: Honours being not confined (as at first) to the *Patricii*, but only that of *sacred Rites*. Those *Quæstor*s are called, by *Ulpian*, *Candidati Principis*, who were to recite; because, as some Officers were chosen by the *Senate*, others by the *People*, yet if any of these were recommended by the *Prince*, and become thereby his Candidates, they could not be refused. This Office *Hadrian* executed in the Time of *Trajan*, who had not the Skill of making *Oration*s. The Time of his entering on the Office of *Quæstor*, was, when he enter'd on the 25th Year of his Age: For as on the Entrance on the 15th Year, they took *togam virilem*, (a) enter'd on Military Pay, and began their *Tyrocinium*; so when the 24th was complete, and they had spent 10 Years in Military Service, they became capable of the *Quæstorship*. This was the Case of noble Persons: But more Years of Military Service were required of the *Gregarii*, whose Time of Dismission was sometimes sooner, sometimes later.

ELEVENTH *Prelection*, May 15. 91. observes what Day of the Year *Hadrian* enter'd on the *Quæstorship*; that this was the *Calends* of *January*, on which other superiour Officers enter'd on

(a) According to Law in this, as well as in taking *virilem togam*, tho' in Fact there may be Exceptions.

their Offices, notwithstanding what an *Anonymous* Scholiast on *Cicero's* Orations had said. Here Mr. *Dodwell* shews how little these *Scholiasts* are to be relied on. Then observes, that, under the Emperors, the Office of a *Quæstor* was not *Annual*: That *Hadrian's* taking Care of the *Acta Senatus*, was not improper to his Office of *Quæstor*: That these *Acta Senatus* were not only *Senatus consulta*, but whatever was spoken or acted in the Senate-House: That it was therefore proper for a *Senator*, and thence a *Quæstor*, or *vir Quæstorius*, to take Care of these *Arcana*. What *Curare* is. The first *Dacic* War began the Year after *Hadrian* had been *Quæstor*, in which he accompanied *Trajan* against *Decebalus*. Here Mr. *Dodwell* considers the Titles given to the Emperors gradually; that of *Augusti Filius*, then that of *Cæsar*, then that (which was last given) of *Imperator*: That this was given (tho' not in *Cicero's* Time) as a *Prænomen*, to distinguish it from the *Cognomen* which was bestowed for his Achievements. This was given to *Trajan*, first by *Nerva*, then by the *Army* two Years after, and is called *Imperator II*, till upon the Conquests in the *East* made by his Captain, he was saluted *Imperator III*, *An. Dom. 101*. And *Imperator IV*, upon finishing the first War in *Dacia*, and then receiv'd the Name of *Dacicus*, in his fourth Consulship, and *Trib. Pot. VI*, *An. Dom. 102*. And that he undertook this War in *Dacia*, (which some call by the Name of *Germany*) in the Year 101, not long before *October*; in that on the *Calends* of *Sept.* that Year (on the *Calends* and *Ides* the Senate assembled) *Pliny* made his *Panegyrick* to *Trajan*, where

where there is no Intimation of any such War approaching, but the contrary. Here Mr. *Dodwell* shews how *Trajan* drove *Decebalus* out of a great Part of his Country, and made him destroy the Fortifications of that Part, which he permitted him to reign in; obliged him to deliver up the Arms and Machines of the *Romans*, which *Domitian* had yielded up to him; and deliver up Deserters, &c. This from *Coæval* Authors; and from *Trajan's* Bridge upon the *Danube*, over which he led his Army in the second *Dacian* War.

TWELFTH *Prelection*, May 22. 91. handles *Hadrian's* being *Tribunus Plebis*. How this Office, tho' at first only enjoyed by *Plebeians*, was sought by *Patricians*, and at length it was decreed, that none should enjoy it but *Senators*. Thus it was in *Hadrian's* Time. These had the Power of *Calling Senates*. The *Age* of being *Tribunes* was not determined, till *Hadrian* did it; (*Augustus* suing for it when but Eighteen Years old) only as it was requisite they should have been first *Quæstors*, consequently Twenty six Years old. No Necessity that they should have been *Prætors*. In the Days of the Emperors, the Office of *Tribune* succeeded that of *Ædilis Curulis*. None admitted to this Office, till they were Twenty eight, as not to be *Prætors* till Thirty. The Office of *Tribunus Plebis* was *Annual*: [That mentioned by *Pliny*, *Lib. IV. Epist. 4.* of Six Months, was the *Military Tribuneship*.] This enter'd upon Dec. 10. Hence by *Hadrian*, *An. Dom. 104.* In which Time he was confined to the City, but might the next Year be employed in the second *Dacian* War. Here Mr. *Dodwell* shews

shews how *Spartian* is more to be rely'd on, than the *Consular Fasti*.

THIRTEENTH *Prelection*, Oct. 13. 91. Here Mr. *Dodwell* shews the Time of *Hadrian's* Prætorship. *Surano bis & Serviano iterum*, COSS. How *Trajan*, having heard of *Decebalus's* Treachery, immediately invaded him, beginning the Second *Dacian War*, *An. Dom.* 103, at the latter End of the Year: How this War was drawn in Length by *Decebalus's* having Recourse to Fastnesses, and the Use of Wiles. Hence the War was drawn out at least to the End of the Year 105. In which Year *Hadrian* might (after his Tribuneship) be employed in that War, and make himself glorious by his great Exploits therein. Tho' Mr. *Dodwell* thinks it was in the following Year, and that in the Year 107 he was chosen *Prætor*, as a Reward for his great Services in that War. And that he enter'd thereon in *January*, as *Suranus* and *Servianus* did on the Consulship, if they were *Consules Ordinarii*. To make this out, he shews the *Prætorship* was *Annual*, considers the Variety of the Employment of *Prætors*, and consequently the great Number of them, and how little Reason there is to suppose their Office less than Annual: That under the Emperors they were sometimes fewer, never more than Eighteen.

FOURTEENTH *Prelection*, Oct. 23. 91. shews how *Hadrian*, the next Year after his Prætorship, was sent into his Province of *Pannonia inferior*, as *Legatus Prætorius*; a Province belonging to the Emperor, always guarded with Soldiers, as being on the Borders of the Empire. One Thing
he

he did as *Legatus*, was the Reducing the *Procurators* within their due Bounds. *Hadrian* enter'd on his *Consulship*, when entring on the Thirty fourth Year of his Age. Tho' the *Lex Annalis* required the Age of Forty three, yet *Augustus* obtained the *Consulship* when only Twenty Years old, and after, the *Heirs* of the Empire; and Ten Years was dispensed with in the Emperor's *Favorites*, as *Hadrian* was; who was only *Consul Suffectus*, and hence not to be found in the *Fasti*, when *Tullus* and *Palma II.* were ordinary *Consuls*; the last of whom had conquered *Arabia*. Here Mr. *Dodwell* rectifies the Mistakes of several Years in the ordinary *Fasti*. *Sura*, *Trajan's* Favorite, dying the Year of *Hadrian's* *Consulship*, reveals *Trajan's* Design of Adopting him; from which Time his Enemies ceased to despise him.

FIFTEENTH Prelection, Octob. 30. 91. shews how (by *Plotina's* Interest, whom he therefore honoured as a *Diva*) *Hadrian* was preferred to be *Legatus* of *Syria*. To fix the Time of which, Mr. *Dodwell* gives us the Annals of *Trajan*, from *An. Dom. 112* to *117*. *An. Dom. 112*, the *Parthian* Expedition was undertaken. At *Athens* (of which *Hadrian* was then chosen *Archon*) *Trajan* received the Account of *Chosroes's* Submission. Travelling thence thro' *Syria* into *Armenia*, *Parthamisiris* met him, where, his Submissions not prevailing, he was deprived of his Kingdom of *Armenia*, where *Trajan* (taking *Nisibis* and *Ecbatane*) wintered. *An. Dom. 113*, *Trajan* finished the Wars of *Mesopotamia* and *Arabia*. *An. Dom. 114*, the *Earthquake* at *Antioch*, in which *Pedo*
the

the *Consul* perished; where *Trajan* (after he had finished the *Parthian War*) winter'd. [Here he considers the Chronology of these Affairs given by *Evagrius* and *Malela*.] Anno 115, *Trajan* passes the *Tigris*, subjects *Adiabene*, and part of *Affyria*, to his Empire. Hence was saluted *Imperator VIII*. Then took *Ctesiphon*, the Seat of the *Parthian Empire*. After went down *Tigris* into the *Persian Sea*, (called by some the *Red Sea*); took the Island *Messene*, with its King *Athombelus*, reduced *Babylonia*. Anno 116, the *Jews* rebelled; those in *Egypt* were conquered by *Lusius*; in *Cyrene*, by *Martius Turbo*; in *Mesopotamia*, by *Lusius Quietus*, who took *Nisibis*: At which Time *Trajan* gave a King to the *Parthians*, viz. *Parthamespates*. Anno 117, the last Year of *Trajan*, who, in his Return towards *Italy*, made *Hadrian* Prefect of *Syria* and *Palestine*, and removing *Lusius* from *Palestine*, set him over *Mauritania*.

SIXTEENTH *Prelection*, Nov. 6. 91. treats of *Hadrian's* being adopted by *Trajan*, and the several Steps thereof. First, while *Trajan* was a private Person, he was designed as his *Heir* to his Estate, *pro filio est habitus*; which denotes not his being adopted, but his being treated as a Son. [On account of Relation, *Hadrian's* Grandmother being *Trajan's* Aunt, than whom we find not that *Trajan* had any nearer of Kin to him.] By which he was received into *Trajan's* Family, and thence that he ought not to lie a Night out of it without his Leave. Notwithstanding this, *Trajan*, when made Emperor, did, as other good Emperors, consider the Worth of the Person he intended for his Successor, and not Nearness of Blood; for which

which he and others are celebrated. Hence *Hadrian* had several Rivals, viz. *Julius Servianus*, *Neratius Priscus*, who was favoured by *Palma* and *Celsus*; and lastly, *Lusius Quietus*. In the mean while, *Hadrian* consults Oracles; having no certain Hopes, till *Sura*, near his Death, acquainted him with his being adopted, (probably the last Year of *Trajan*.) *Sura* was greatly in *Trajan*'s Favour, as were others (here named) who might be thought to be Competitors with *Hadrian*. His Steps to gain *Trajan*'s Favour, were his speedy Certifying of *Nerva*'s Death, (tho' obstructed by *Servianus*;) his marrying his Niece, and *Plotina*'s favouring him. *Trajan* gave him Ground of Hope, (upon account of his Observance of him in his Cups) by his bestowing on him a Gem with a Seal, a Badge of Authority, which *Nerva* had given *Trajan*, by which he was adopted into the Imperial Family; and by making him *Consul* at an Age, in which few but Heirs of the Empire enjoyed that Office; by his being employed in dictating *Trajan*'s Orations after *Sura*'s Death, and by the *Sponsio* of his Adoption.

THE following *Prelections* were prepared, not read, Mr. *Dodwell* being interdicted.

SEVENTEENTH *Prelection* shews, that notwithstanding all those Grounds of Hopes, *Trajan* might have put by *Hadrian* from inheriting; especially if his Adoption was by *Testament*, which might have been reversed: Shews what *Spartian* means by *Præsumptio Imperii*; and then how all *Hadrian*'s Doubts were removed upon his being a second time *Consul*. How ominous

this was, but especially as it removed the Fear he had from his Competitor *Lusius Quietus*. [How little Heed is to be given to the Stories of the Frauds used by *Plotina* in *Hadrian's* Favour; nor to what *Apronianus*, the Father of *Dio* (who lived above a Hundred Years after *Hadrian*) relates concerning this.] This second *Consulship* still more assured him; if *Trajan* made any Alterations in his Designment of Consuls, by blotting out one, and inserting *Hadrian's* Name; which Power he had as *Pontifex Maximus*, and by the Office of *Triumvir*, which is here handled, and shewn to be the same with other *Jus Imperii*; and, among other Things, to make an Alteration in Magistrates *pro arbitrio*.

EIGHTEENTH *Prelection* shews the Manner of *Adoption* by the *Lex Curiata*, procured by *Augustus*: How Emperors looked not on themselves as obliged by it: The Difference of *Adrogatio* and *Adoptio*: The Manner of *Piso's* being adopted by *Galba*, *Piso* being present: How *Trajan* and *Hadrian* were adopted, tho' *absent*, notwithstanding otherwise represented in Coins: Tho' Legal Adoptions were of Sons and Grandchildren, yet some absurdly adopted *Brothers* and *Fathers*: How, by the *Military* Law, Adoptions might be made by *Wills*. The Form of *Vir Virum legabat* explained; first used for such as were devoted, even to die, for the Commonwealth; afterwards by Emperors in the *Adoption* of their Successors, hereby signifying that these were equally obliged to act with all Fidelity to the Interests of the Publick, and that they should choose no other than such to the Imperial Dignity; and by

by the Use of this Form in the Election of their Successors, secure the Liberties of the Community. Matrimony, and Receiving any into Families, was done by *Sacred Rites*. [Hereby CHRIST's and His Church's Union are illustrated in the New Testament.] Much more in Imperial Families. One adopted therein was invested with the Rights of that Family, and became *Filius Augusti*, and hence Heir of the Empire: Had the Titles of *Imperator*, *Cæsar*; also *Princeps Juventutis*. [*Princeps Senatûs*, a Title used in former Times, was in these Times appropriated to the *Senior Augustus*.] This Title of *Princeps Juventutis* being given to the *Cæsar*, because he presided over the Exercises (the Kinds of which are shewn) of them who were of the *Ordo Equestris*. But this Title was not granted till he had *togam Virilem*; (being before called *Puer Nobilissimus*) and was sometimes continued after Admittance into the *Senate*. Represented in Coins.

NINETEENTH *Prelection* shews, that the Exercises were not only the managing *Horses*, but also *Foot Exercises*, hereby to inure them to Hardship, and to all Military Service, as there should be Occasion, and the Use of all Kinds of Arms. Persons adopted obtained all the *Rights* of the *Family* into which they were adopted, with the Continuance of their *own*; and hence, if adopted by the Emperor, the *Honours* of the *Imperial Family*, even *Triumphal*, conferred by the Emperor's Power, as *Dictator* and *Censor*. By him the Title of *Princeps Juventutis* was bestowed, which Title ceased at the Age of Thirty. [The Observation of *Quinquennia* by *Greeks* and *Romans*.] In the room thereof succeeded that of

Tribunitia Potestas. This Name assumed by *Augustus* as less invidious than that of *Dictator*, and more grateful to the People, tho' thereby the *supreme Power* was granted. This was decreed every five Years; sometimes *διὰ βίης* for Life. Tho' this Power was formerly included within the *Pomærium* of the City of *Rome*, it was granted throughout all the *Roman Provinces* to the Emperors. That *Tribunitian Power* granted to *Cæsars*, was not equal to that which was enjoy'd by the *Augusti*; tho' that of Ten Years granted to *Tiberius*, not long before *Augustus's* Death, comes near to an Equality, in that it was the Custom to decree a *Ten Years Tribunitial Power* to the *Augusti*, that of *Five Years* to the *Cæsars*: Accordingly the *Vota* (tho' in Coins there's a Diversity) were for them. Farther, it was in the Power of the *Augustus*, when the Five Years were fulfilled, to deny the Renewal of that Power to the *Cæsar*, (illustrated in the designed Successors of *Augustus*.) Besides, the *Augustus* was *solutus legibus*, the *Cæsar* not so. In what Respects there was some Equality betwixt them. After there were more *Augusti* than one, (which was begun by *Marcus Antoninus*) the *Tribunitial Power* was not granted to any other; not to *Cæsars*, tho' on them a *Proconsular Power* was sometimes conferred, which was of some Affinity to that of a *Censor*, (tho' they would not take that Name) yet inferiour to the *Tribunitial*. Those that were *Augusti* might make use of the *Proconsular Power* before it was decreed by the Senate. The Advantages belonging to them who were invested with the *Proconsular* and *Tribuni-*

tial Power were so great, that they were desired by the greatest Princes. The *Tribuneship* (*Tribunatus*) was slighted, because none but *Plebeians* could be Candidates for it, it being instituted for their Sake; yea, even by them who were of a *Plebeian* Original, tho' by becoming *Augusti*, they became *Patricii*. The *Tribunitian Power* was thence rather desired than the *Tribunatus*. Emperors endeavoured, that the *Quinquennia* of their *Cæsars* might concur with their own *Quinquennia*, or *Decennia*. Thus did *Augustus*, and the following Emperors, unto *Constantine*. This not observed with respect to the *Proconsular Authority*: That of the *Censors Lustra* had only some Resemblance of it. When a *Tribunitia* Power had been granted to any before his Accession to the Empire, they reckoned the Beginning of his Empire from the Date of that Power, and not from the Death of his Predecessor, and thence reckoned the Time for their *Ludi Decennales*, and *Quinquennales*. They reckoned the Beginning of their *Tribunitia Potestas*, not from the Time of the *Senate's* Decree, but from the Time of their Accession to the Empire, the *Natalis Imperii*; thus begun by *Augustus*, and followed by his Successors. The Honours of *Pont. M.* of *Tribunitia Potestas*, and *Consulat.* which could not be regularly given but by the *Senate*, or at *Rome*, are in Coins given to *Albinus*, &c. who never had these thus given; on this Reason, because they were *Imperatores*: unless in Provinces these had a *Senate* and a *Plebs Romana* in their own Camp, by which the Defect was supplied. When a *Junior Augustus*, or a *Cæsar*, was cho-

sen by the *Senior Augustus*, (which Choice he claimed as his Right) their *Tribunitia Potestas*, and *Quinquennia*, were, during the Life of the *Senior Augustus*, reckon'd from the *Natalis* of this *Senior Augustus*: But after his Death, when they came to be *Chief Augusti*, they reckon'd those Honours from the *Natalis* of their own *Adoption*. [When they were *Natural Sons*, they reckon'd from the *Natalis Imperii*.] Here *Hadrian* reckon'd his *Tribunitia Potestas* from the *Natalis* of his *Adoption*. The particular Reasons of his doing this, are here assigned.

*An Appendix, on Occasion of a
Fragment out of the Libri
Lintei.*



R. *Dodwell* shews how daily Transactions of Families, much more those of the Publick, were committed to Writing: How out of these, *Annals* were compiled, and *Commentaries*. The *Alba Fastorum*.

These written chiefly on Linen, *Libri Lintei*. These were sacred, and laid up in *Temples*. [Vid. *Dissertations of Sanchoniathon*.] Some *Archives* were in the Houses of *Pontif. Max.* which were sacred. The Beginning of these as early as *Numa*. Committed to the Care of the *Duumviri* by *Tarquin. Priscus*; after to the *Quindecimviri*; and possibly to the *Censors*, which Office was first executed by *Kings*, after by *Consuls*; and it may be

be this Part of it, the taking Care of the *Archives*. [Mention of *Annales* before *Rome* was built.] This was instituted to preserve the Credit of their History, and committed to the *Pontif. Max.* Persons of the best Rank and Station, capable of being acquainted with all publick Affairs. [These written at first in an obsolete Style.] Men of *Veracity*. And the Writings deposited in *sacred* Places. From a like, but greater Care, the Authority of the Canon both of the Old and New Testament is evidenced. The first was written by *Prophets*, who had the Assistance of the *Divine Spirit*, which preserved them from Error; and the Approbation of the *High-Priest*, who by *Urim* and *Thummim* could certainly tell whether they were to be assigned to the *Holy Ghost*. After the Ceasing of this, we have no more Canon of the Old Testament. The Canon of the New Testament was secured by the Care used to preserve the *authentic* Writings of the *Apostles* in the *Archives* of the *Churches*.

THE same Things also which were written on the *Libri Lintei*, were sometimes written on Tables of *Stone* whited over, or engraven on *Marble*. Probably these Fragments were engraven about the Time of *Augustus*. They seemed to be transcribed rather out of the *Diaries* of the City (*Acta Urbana*) than out of the *Libri Lintei*.

AFTER this Preface, Mr. *Dodwell* gives us these *Fragments*, and his *Notes* upon them; which are too large for me to give an Abstract of; much of which are for Settling the Text; intermix'd with many useful and learned Observations: As of the *Fasces* being only with *one* of the *Consuls*: Of

Morning Sacrifices, and the Time of the first Christians celebrating the Eucharist: *Cellæ* signified Rooms annexed to the Temple, where the Sacrificers ate of the Sacrifice, *Jer.* xxxv. 2. And used for the Cells of Monks, and here of *Cavædia*. *Laverna* might be a Cognomen of the Goddess *Tellus*, as *Feretrius*, &c. of *Jupiter*: Of the Institution of *Nundinæ*, and what they were: Of the Power claimed by the *Tribunes*, even over the *Consuls*: Of *Strenæ*, and the Goddess *Strenia*: What *Sacella* were: The ancient Temples (*Subdialia*) uncovered, because there were no Images in them, and that they might behold the Heaven in their Adorations: Of *Lautia*, Gifts bestowed on Ambassadors, usually at their Departure. On the second Fragment, he observes several Things of the *Dii Penates*: Of *Accensi*, Ministers of the *Consuls*; sometimes called *Calpurnii*: Of the *Opæ Clodianæ*: How *Rixa* differs from *Pugna*: The Kinds of *Mulctæ*: Of *tribu moveri*, and in *Caritum tabulas referri*: The *SC.* that the *Mulct* should not be derived to the Heirs: The Times of *Cicero*'s Affairs digested; After *Senatores*, and *Equites*, there were *Tribuni Aerarii*, that were Judges: The *Lustra Censorum* renew'd after *Catiline*'s Conspiracy. By Occasion of the Time when *Cæsar* enter'd into his Province, the Roman Year and its Parts are here consider'd, and the *Intercalation* of *Meckedonius*, in order to complete the Roman Year, and to shew what the Cycle then was, before the Institution of the *Julian*. (b) To clear

(b) These are more fully handled by Mr. Dodwell in his Book *de Cyclis*: Of which the Reader may find an Abstract by a more learned Person at the End.

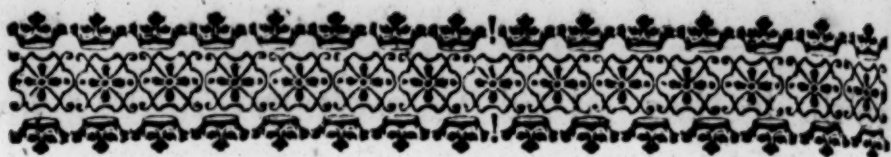
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which, he has added *Chronological Tables*; and some *Canons* to shew the Use of them. He farther shews, how much *Edicts* concerning Magistrates were dispensed with; till *Otilius* collected such as might be most beneficial; and *Julius*, by his *Dictatorial* Power, and possibly by communicating them to the Senate, had established them as *perpetual*.

Mr. *Dodwell* concludes, by telling his Reader, that what he had said in this Tract, he offered as only *probable*; and that if any other could propound any thing else nearer Truth, he would thereby not only oblige the *Publick*, but also *himself*.

WHEN these *Prelections* were printed, and sent as a Present to Dr. *Ralph Taylor* of *Worcester*, he professes to value it as an inestimable Jewel, and the Author's Lustre so superlative, as to shine thro' all the Shades and Misfortunes that endeavour to obscure it. He laments for his being silenced, and wishes, for the Honour of *Oxford*, as well as the Interest of the Learned World, that he might be restored to his *Prelectors* Place.





CHAP. XIX.

His Tract about taking the New Oaths, with a Declaration, &c. His Deprivation, and of his Practice in respect to Communion.



WHILST Mr. Dodwell was employed in his last *Prelections*, his Thoughts were likewise taken up some time, in considering the new Oaths of *Fealty* and *Allegiance*; and this not meerly in respect to his own Practice, but the informing the Consciences of others. He therefore wrote a short Tract, to shew how much they deceived themselves who would take those Oaths, with a *Declaration*, that these Words *Fealty* and *Allegiance* signified no more than living peaceably under the present Government to whom they vow this; but by which they must mean, that they will never be active in assisting the King *de Jure* against it, or contribute any thing towards his Restoration; and that they will not only abstain from real Disturbances, but also from that which will be interpreted such by them who are possessed of the Tribunals. This, he shews, was the Judgment

ment of *Loyalists* in *Cromwell's* Days, and that thence they durst not take Oaths then imposed : That such an Interpretation, with that Declaration, &c. is contrary to the End of those who impose the Oaths ; in that Kings *de Jure*, when they imposed such Oaths, did it to oblige their Subjects to stand by 'em at all times, and thence expected at all times Assistance from them, against all Enemies. When Kings *de Facto* impose Oaths in the same Terms, they must be meant in the same Sense : And Oaths must be taken in the Sense of the Imposers. This is made out, by considering the Terms of *Fealty* and *Allegiance*, and the Reasons of their being required in the *feudal* Laws ; by which the Subjects became obliged, not only not to oppose, but also to maintain the Life, Limbs, and terrene Honour of their Liege Lord, to keep his Secrets, and to discover all Plots against him. This is shewn to be the Sense of our own Laws, and, more particularly, of the Oath of Allegiance enacted in the Time of King *James I.* Now when these new Oaths are introduced in the room of the former, they must be meant in the same Sense, and hence be inconsistent with a Neutrality betwixt a King *de Jure* and *de Facto*, as the former were.

AFTER Mr. *Dodwell* had thus considered the new Oaths with respect to his own and others Practice, so he did also the dreadful Consequents, he apprehended would ensue, upon the Imposition of them, especially to the Church, which he concluded, would be rent and torn in pieces, if other Bishops should be consecrated into the Sees of those conscientious Fathers, who refused the

the Oaths, and were for that deprived. Mr. *Dodwell* had always a great Concern for the Peace and Happiness of the Church ; and hence, to prevent a *Schism* in it, as he wrote his *Cautionary Discourse*, (of which more afterwards ;) so also a Letter to one, who, a little after, was placed in one of the highest Stations in our Church, Dr. *Till*. (Which Letter was after published.) In this, bearing Date *May 12. 1691*, Mr. *Dodwell* argues, that consecrating Persons into the Sees of the deprived Bishops, would be to erect *Altar* against *Altar*, hitherto acknowledged, and not justly vacated : And that such as do so, cut themselves off from the Communion of which they were before Members, as do all others that join with them : Which he illustrates by Instances in the First Ages in the Church, and particularly of *Athanasius* : That those, who will be Bishops in the room of the deprived, must seek for new Principles : That if they pretend *Lay-Authority* as sufficient, they will overthrow the Being of the Church as a *Society*, and put it in the Power of persecuting Princes to ruin it.

BUT leaving his Writings for the present, I must come to the Author. Mr. *Dodwell* having refused to take the new Oaths, was first forbidden to read his Lectures ; the last that he was permitted to read, being that of *Nov. 6. 1691*. After that, he was deprived. Tho' he was told by learned Counsel, that the Act seemed not to reach his Case, in that he was *Prelector*, not *Professor* ; yet he, being always studious of Peace, and averse to Contention, even in Defence of a just Right, chose rather to acquiesce in his De-
 priva-

privation. But he first procured the following Certificate under the Vice-Chancellor's Hand,

Nov. 19. 1691.

“ **T**HESE are to certify whom it may concern,
 “ That Mr. Henry Dodwell was dismiss'd
 “ from the *Cambdenian Lecture* of History in
 “ Oxford, for not taking the Oath of Allegiance
 “ to Their Majesties King *William* and Queen
 “ *Mary*, as the Statute requireth.

Jonathan Edwards, Vice-Chancellor of Oxon.

To this Deprivation Mr. *Dodwell* the more easily submitted, in that he considered, that many things would be expected of him, if he continued in that Post, with which he could not comply. He gives us his own Sense of this his Deprivation, in his *Appendix* to his Lectures. *Pos-
 sim fortasse molestè ferre quòd culpā meā nullā
 amotus fuerim. Sed dum causam expendo, contrā
 mihi potiùs gratulor, habuisse me quo fuerim in tali
 causā pellendus.* This Preferment was in itself very beneficial, very much suited to his *Genius*, and those Studies in which he chiefly delighted; (tho' it would have been much more so, had he not been debarred from reading *Ecclesiastical History*, as he has sometimes told me; and therefore he could not but desire a continued Enjoyment of it: But then, the Preservation of a good Conscience, and the securing of inward Peace, were preferable to all such secular Considerations, tho' ever so advantageous.

HERE

HERE it will not be amiss to take Notice of Archbishop *Sancroft*, that suffer'd in the same Cause with Mr. *Dodwell*, who willingly submitted (as he ordered to be expressed on his own Tomb-Stone) *to be deprived of all, which he could not keep with a good Conscience*; which was the highest Dignity in the Church of *England*. And 'tis affirmed by them, who had the Honour to be acquainted with him, "That the most
 " greedy Worldling never enjoyed half that so-
 " lid Complacency in the most lucky and for-
 " tunate Acquisitions, that his Grace did, in be-
 " ing reduced to a private Life." As he had all the Abilities that qualified him for that elevated Station, wherein the Providence of God had placed him; so he was endow'd with such a large Measure of Mortification, and Self-denial, Contempt of the World, and passive Courage, as enabled him, thro' God's Assistance, for that Composure of Mind, and this Submission, here mentioned. This I have transcribed out of Bishop *Bull's* Life, where the Reader will meet with other instructive Examples, and excellent Christian Advice, which may be very serviceable to him in his Christian Course.

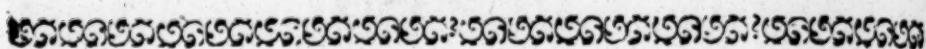
HE could not but be affected with this Loss, but he was much more so with the *Sins* of the Nation, and the Expectation of God's *Judgments*, as the Desert of our Enormities: And above all, with the Prospect of a *Schism* in our Church, which he endeavoured, by his *Cautionary* Discourse, to prevent; and afterwards, by other Writings, to represent its mischievous Nature, and to shew, who were justly to be charged with
 the

the Guilt thereof, and by what Means it might be healed.

HERE I must take Notice of his own Practice, with respect to the Assemblies with whom he communicated in religious Worship. He would not, till the Consecration of other Bishops into the Sees of the deprived Bishops, separate from the Publick Prayers, notwithstanding there were then several Petitions used, to which he could not say *Amen*; he not judging these a sufficient Ground for a Separation, till a *Schism* was made. This, he thought, was then done, when *new Bishops* were consecrated into the Sees of the *Nonjuring* Bishops, especially when done by a *Lay-Authority*. These he looked upon, being *Secundi*, as *Nulli*; and hence, that they (and those that joined with them) were *Schismaticks*, as intruding into Sees not validly vacated; and hence not to be communicated with: That when the others were not validly deprived, they still retain'd their Authority, might justly challenge their Rights, and were our spiritual Fathers with whom we ought to maintain Communion. The Reason of which Mr. *Dodwell* shews in his *Vindication* of them, and other Tracts presently to be considered, which were in part written at *Oxford*, part elsewhere.

FOR after he had lost his Professorship, he continued some time in *Oxford*, and afterwards removed to *Cookham*, a Village near *Maidenhead*, a Place lying between *Oxford* and *London*, and very near of an equal Distance from each of them; and thence convenient to maintain a Correspondence with Friends in each Place, and to
con-

consult them and Books, as he should have occasion ; and a Place where he had, oftener than once, resided.



C H A P. XX.

Cautionary Discourse of Schism.

AFTER these excellent Persons, Dr. *William Sancroft* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *William Lloyd* Bishop of *Norwich*, Dr. *Francis Turner* Bishop of *Ely*, Dr. *Thomas Kenn* Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, Dr. *John Leake* Bishop of *Chichester*, Dr. *Robert Frampton* Bishop of *Glocester*, and Dr. *Thomas White* Bishop of *Peterborough* ; (five of whom had signalized themselves by their courageous opposing the Designs of the *Romanists* in King *James II.*'s Reign, by the Imprisonment they suffered, and the Dangers they exposed themselves to :) After these were suspended for not taking the *new Oaths*, upon the Revolution ; there was too much Ground to fear, that these Fathers would be deprived, and others consecrated in their rooms. On this Occasion Mr. *Dodwell*, who was always concerned for the Peace and Happiness of the Church, wrote that Tract, which he entitles, *A cautionary Discourse of Schism, with a particular Regard to the Case of the Bishops,*

Bishops, who are suspended for refusing to take the new Oath: Where having shewn, that Sufferings in a religious Cause may be chearfully undergone, thro' the Support of Divine Assistance, and Hopes of future Rewards, when there is a Prospect of Religion's and the Church's Interest being advanced by their Suffering: Yet, when at the same time, there is ground to fear the Vengeance of Almighty God on the Nation for their Sins, and, particularly, for Breach of Faith by Oaths, which is *piacular*; when Multitude of Offenders, especially of Governors, enhances the Guilt, and threatens epidemical Punishments; this renders Sufferings grievous. But most of all, when there is a Prospect of a *Schism* in the Church, which is so hard to be healed, as is evident in those of the *Joannites* and *Donatists*, and, consequently, such as should be carefully prevented; he shews, how much it is the Concern of the complying Bishops, that they neither *second State-Deprivation* with *Ecclesiastical Censures*, nor consecrate other Bishops into the Sees of such as should be deprived; which might justly be feared, considering the too great Power allowed to the *Laity* in Ecclesiastical Causes, even by Divines running into Extremes, from their Opposition of *Papal* Encroachments at our Reformation, and still retained without due Examination; and that hence, Reasons of State will cause *Lay-Politicians* to engage the Bishops of their Party to act against their Brethren, on Account of several Interests here recited.

Now it cannot be expected, that they, who are not of their mind in the principal Dispute,
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should

should look on such Deprivations as obliging in Point of Conscience. The *Lay-Power* cannot deprive them of the Exercise of the purely *Spiritual Power*, i. e. of transacting *Covenants* betwixt God and Man, here largely described, especially that wherein Bishops are concerned. The *Lay-Magistrate* can pretend to none of this Power. Not as *Representative* of the People, in a Case wherein God is immediately concerned, as *Admittance* to the *Benefits* of the *Baptismal Covenant*. None can pretend to represent God without some Act of His conveying this Power. Nothing of this can be shewn from the *New Testament*, when there was no Christian Magistrate. None of this *Power* was given to the *Christian Laity*. No, the *Father* sent CHRIST, CHRIST sent the *Apostles*, and *they* their *Successors*, and not the *People*: Which is observed by *Clemens Romanus*, to shew, that the *People* (no, not any *Lay-Prince*) had any Share in this *Spiritual Power*. If they will pretend to any Share in it, otherwise than by GOD's *Donation*, they must shew, that the things performed by the *Spiritual Power* are at their *Disposal*. Which they cannot do: And if they have not this Power *themselves*, how can they give it to *others*, or enable others to do it? and so as to oblige all Bishops in the World to *ratify* their Proceedings? Or, how can they *deprive* others of this Power, that neither was, nor is, *derived* from them? Tho', in point of *Prudence*, Bishops may, in some Cases, submit to unjustifiable Impositions of Civil Magistrates; yet there lies no *universal Obligation* on them to forbear the

the Exercise of their Office for any Deprivation of the secular Magistrate.

NEITHER can their *Fellow Bishops* deprive them: (1.) They ought not to presume it done; because the Civil Magistrate has deprived them, that being originally a Nullity. When Bishops were prohibited by *Heathen* Persecutors, yet then the Exercise of Episcopal Power in *S. Cyprian's* District was Schismatical in *Felicissimus*, and in *Cornelius's* District in *Novatian*; in that the secular Authority had no Power to intermeddle in this thing. (2.) The Concurrence of the *Bishops* in the House of *Lords* to an Act of this Kind, is not sufficient to deprive the Bishops of their *Spiritual* Power: In that the Bishops may be overvoted by the Temporal Lords; neither is there any Equity, that the *spiritual* Concerns of the *Church* should be decided in such a Body, where the more numerous Party are only concerned for the *State*: Neither were things *purely spiritual* ever put to the Arbitrement of such *mixt* Assemblies, in the Times when these were first instituted, (but in *Synods*;) and the Intentions of the first Legislators ought to be the fundamental Standard in these Cases. Neither, (3.) can the Sense of the *Bishops* be taken from their *Practice*. Tho' they have taken the Oaths, as lawfully, yet they may judge them inexpedient, and blame the Imposition of them as hurtful. Others esteem the Lawfulness of them as only *probable*, and hence cannot condemn the Refusers of them; much less those, that esteem them, in some Sense, (and possibly, that intended by the Legislators) as unlawful, and can only take them with a *Declaration*;

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tion; nor they that satisfy themselves with the Judgment of Lawyers or Divines. Besides, if these thought, that a Sentence of Deprivation was *deserved* by the Refusers of the Oaths, yet, till the *Sentence* of Deprivation is actually *pronounced* by a *Synod*, they must own them as actual Bishops. Till Criminals are juridically sentenced, they have a legal Title to the Rights they were legally possessed of. But withall, it may be justly enquired, whether the complying Bishops have, in this Case, any *Power* to deprive the Bishops that refuse the Oaths. (1.) It was the Primitive Doctrine of the Church in the Time of *S. Cyprian*, "That every Bishop was made by CHRIST, and
" being once made, was so immediately subject-
" ed to Him, as to be liable to no other what-
" soever humane Authority." This proved out of *S. Cyprian* largely: Which destroys all Power that Synods can pretend to, for Deprivation of particular Bishops. And this is shewn, to be not merely the Opinion of *S. Cyprian*, but also the Doctrine of the Catholick Church at that time, in that *S. Cyprian* reasons from it, as a thing generally owned, even by his Adversaries. Their *Practice* was answerable. No Bishops were then deprived for Male-Administration, but for *Crimes* that made them *uncapable* of their Office: All the Synod had to do, was to judge who they were that had, by some Act, divested themselves of that Power that was committed to them. So cautious were they then of censuring Bishops, that if they knew 'em to be truly Bishops, they would not vouchsafe to hear any Accusations of Male-Contents of other Jurisdictions against them. And
withall,

withall, the whole Church ratified the Acts of particular Bishops for their own Jurisdictions, even in Matters wherein the greatest Number of Bishops were of another mind : As in the Case of the *Baptism of Hereticks*, and *admitting Adulterers*, on their Repentance, to Communion. This was agreeable to Notions of the *Jews*, which were entertained by *Christians* as the mystical *Israel*. The *Jews* believed their *High-Priest* represented the *Logos*, as a Principle of Unity ; and that no other Sacrifices would be presented by him, the *mystical High-Priest*, to the Father, but what was offered by the *High-Priest*, his mystical Representative here on Earth. Accordingly, the *Christians* thought, that the Bishop was *CHRIST*'s Representative here on Earth, and that, whoever was not *united* to Him, nor had a Right in His Communion, could have no Right to a *Union* with *CHRIST* in Heaven, nor to His mystical Sacrifice. Now by this Reasoning, they owned, that every Bishop represented *CHRIST* immediately, and that every particular Bishop possessed the whole Episcopal Power *in solidum*, within his own Jurisdiction, and therefore could not be concluded by another Majority in other Jurisdictions.

THIS likewise is adapted to the Nature of the *Unity* and *Government* of the *Catholick Church*, as it was designed by *CHRIST*. There are many Cases that would hinder the convening of Synods, or their Dependence on one City, as that of *Rome*, as a Principle of Unity. But it must be such, as to enjoy a Unity in Time of Persecution, and in Multitudes of Dominions whose

Princes are at Variance ; when every Act of every particular Bishop, in admitting to, or rejecting from his Communion, would be obliging to all his Collegues thro' the World, in point of Conscience, as obliging CHRIST, who being once obliged, must, consequently, oblige them all, as His several Representatives. How useful this Notion is, is here shewn. All, therefore, that can be done against our *Non-juring* Fathers in a Synod, is, to declare that they have been guilty of some Crime that incapacitates them for their Office. Refusal of an Oath, which they think Perjury, is not such a Crime. After *Constantine's* Time, Synods took a greater Liberty to depose for Immoralities, and Bishops for the Interests of Religion have submitted hereto : But where there are no Reasons of that Kind, we cannot suppose Bishops divested of their original Authority. But supposing the Synod's Authority as great as 'tis ordinarily supposed, there are these following Objections against the Validity of their Proceeding against our Holy Fathers in this Case. (1.) That the *Bishops*, that are likely to take upon them to be *Judges*, are *Criminals*, and hence not fit to pass Sentence on their Brethren. They are responsible to the *Laws* of the Land, and the *Canons*, for their deserting the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience*, &c. (2.) They cannot charge any Crime against their Brethren, that deserves Deprivation, or any Ecclesiastical Censure. (3.) They cannot make this an *Ecclesiastick* Crime, to be true to the Principles and Doctrines of the Church : Nor can it be imagined, that such Censures will be ratified in Heaven ; or that

Persons,

Persons, who are convinced of the Nullity thereof, should not still own them as Bishops of those Dioceses to which they were consecrated, and look on Anti-Bishops as schismatical Invaders.

THE Bishops, indeed, may rather suffer Wrong than let the Church be divided; and yet, if the Interest of the Church requires it, they will be answerable to God for not exercising the Power he has committed to them, of which themselves must be Judges.

ONE thing is especially to be feared, and that is, lest *unjustifiable Practices* turn into *evil Principles*. Not merely Errors that oppose our *Creeds*, but also such as influence Mens *Lives*, are of dangerous Consequence, as being easiliest observed, and hence, most detrimental to Religion, when espoused by Men of a great Character and Reputation, and when contrary to the Interests of Nations and Government; such as encourage Undutifulness in Subjects, and weaken the Obligation of Oaths. Especially, when such Principles are entertained on a *sudden*, and yet *universally*. Religion will hence lose its Credit, and its Enemies make the vilest Use thereof. The Church of *England* will lose that Reputation, which it had gained by its Doctrine of *Passive Obedience*. This may make our suspended Fathers more vigorous in the Defence of such Doctrines, lest, by their yielding, they may seem to betray them; and to keep up a Succession of such as will maintain them. The great Interests that all Mankind have in these Doctrines of *Non-Resistance* and *Passive-Obedience* (here manifested) should make Men cautious how they act against them,

them, and against those that maintain them. Farther, Care should be taken not to rob our suspended Fathers of the Rights they have, to which they are entitled, by their Character and Station, in the National Church. *State Censures* (as afore) cannot deprive them of their Authority in things purely Spiritual; and whatever *spiritual* Act could not be performed without them before such *State-Censures*, cannot since that be performed without them. None, therefore, can be performed without the Concurrence of the *Metropolitan* and *Primate* of the National Church. When Bishops have, by *Compacts*, divested themselves of their original, unaccountable *Supremacy*, (which is supposed, in the Notion of a *National Church*) they are thereby obliged, till the Reason of those *Compacts* cease, to the maintaining such a *National* or *Provincial* Unity. And, therefore, as *Ecclesiastical* Unity is derived from Union with the invisible Head, *CHRIST*, and the visible Head, the *Bishop*; so is *Pactional* Unity from Union with the *Metropolitan*. Those Bishops, therefore, that act any thing of common Concernment of the *National Church* without being presided by the *Primate*, must necessarily divide themselves from the *National Head*, and hence from the *Church* thus headed by him. Not, therefore, without the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. Not without his *presiding* in Synods, as in *S. Cyprian's* Time, much less since, considering the greater *Extent* of Power granted in *After-Ages* to *Metropolitans*, and those particularly great to the See of *Canterbury*, as *Legatus Natus*, &c. The *Canon Law* of our Church being (as in *Lindwood*)

wood) Decrees of such an Archbishop of *Cant. in Concilio*, and such as had from him their Authority, as other *Canon Laws* were then thought to have their Authority from the *Pope*. [This Authority is greatedened by the *Reformation*, much of that Authority, which the *Popes* formerly challenged, being settled on the *Archbishop of Canterbury*.] Tho' such Authority was an Usurpation, yet a *negative* Voice in Councils was granted to *Metropolitans* in the Fourth Century; if not before, yet by the Canon of *Antioch*, taken into the *Code* of the Canons of the Catholick Church.

ALL the other suspended Bishops have a Right to vote in *Convocations*; and if their Suffrage be denied them, they may protest against what is done therein, as no Acts of the Church of *England*, and as not obliging, by reason of Violence used. The Acts of *Lapsers*, tho' a Majority, have ever been esteemed invalid.

MUCH less will the Acts of such a Convocation be esteemed valid, if they *innovate* in things of *dangerous* Consequence, in the Opinions of the Persons excluded, such as *admitting* Persons to officiate in the *Ministry*, against the Validity of whose *Orders* there are too many Exceptions; in that it is a *sacrilegious* Usurpation, and withall considering the consequential *Nullities* which must follow invalid *Baptisms*, and invalid *Orders*. Other things, as the Gesture at the Lord's Supper, may be thought indifferent, but Uniformity in GOD's Worship is not such. *Union* with our Adversaries is highly desirable, but, if firm, it must

must be upon *Principles*, so as to oblige in Conscience. Without this the Church will suffer many Inconveniences.

No Consecration of new Bishops ought to be made without the Consent of the Deprived Bishops. This is evident from the fourth Canon of the Council of *Nice*. That at least *three* be present, *all* consent, especially the *Metropolitan*, without whose Consent the Consecration was invalid. Such was the Consecration judged of them who were ordained by *Meletius* without the Consent of the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, none of them being allowed as Bishops, without a new (*βεβαίωσις*) Confirmation. This holds good with respect to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, at least within that Province, and withall to the whole *Church of England*, as he is *Primate*.

He concludes with an affectionate Persuasive to the complying Bishops to consider what he had said, in order to prevent a Schism, and other Mischiefs which would otherwise ensue, by which our *Church*, our Reformation, and Christian Religion itself would be hazarded.



C H A P. XXI.

Vindication of the Deprived Bishops.



NOTWITHSTANDING the *Cautionary Discourse*, (which by reason of its passing thro' several Hands, while MS. was too long before 'twas published) our pious and excellent Non-juring Fathers were *deprived*, and others consecrated into their Sees. In Vindication of which Practice, a *Greek Manuscript*, found among the *Baroccian* in the *Bodleian Library*, was translated into *English*, and published by Mr. *Hody*: On Occasion of which Mr. *Dodwell* wrote his *Vindication of the Deprived Bishops*. In the first Part having premised how inexcusable Clergymen are who patronize Doctrines which betray the Rights of their own Function, wherein the Interest of Religion, and of the Souls of Men, are so nearly concerned; he proceeds to consider the Reasons they produce, to shew, *That nothing can justify Adherence to even unjustly Deprived Bishops, if their Successors be not Hereticks*. To prove which, they appeal to Instances collected to our Hands in the forementioned MS. long before the Prospect of the present Case. Here Mr. *Dodwell* shews how unreasonably this is called an *ancient MS.* when not written before the *Thirteenth Century* was

was well advanced, and hence too late for an Evidence of Facts produced by him; that the Author knew nothing of the latter Part of the History of *Nicetas Choniates* relating to *Constantinople*; that he, being a publick Officer of that Church, must needs have known these himself, if he had lived near the Time of *Nicetas*, and should have had no need of Information from hence; that this Collection was not committed to *Writing* by the Author, but taken from his *Mouth* as he spake it. Here Mr. *Dodwell* takes Notice of the Office of *Rhetor* in particular Churches, which had a great Respect to *Ecclesiastical History*. The Use of this Study was to search into *Precedents*, when any Act of publick Discipline required it, and into *Canons*. There was a *Nursery* of these. This Office, probably, was founded by *Constantine*, as *Grammarians*, *Orators*, &c. had been by former Emperors. 'Tis probable the Author of this MS. was *Rhetor*, at the Time when this Schism happen'd which occasion'd it: But *Nicophorus Callistus* was not the Author.

THIS Author, from what has been said, appears to be no competent *Witness* of the Facts mentioned by him: And if admitted, not *pertinent* to the present Debate; nor is his *Reasoning* either *conscientious* or *prudent*. Here are 18 Instances, in the Space of 900 Years, produced, of Bishops who did not think fit to *insist* on their *Right*, or else were not *seconded* by their Subjects, if they did so, when deprived on account of Heresy: But 'tis not proved that they did *well*. Instances might be produced of *Murders*, &c. committed by great Men, and no Opposition thereof,

thereof, in less Space: But this is not sufficient to justify such Crimes. 'Tis shewn, (1.) That *not adhering* to unjustly deprived Bishops, will signify nothing to our present Case, unless the Persons who did not adhere to 'em, did believe 'em *unjustly* deprived. Nor, (2.) unless they believed them to be *invalidly* deprived, (that is, by an incompetent Judicatory) as well as *unjustly*. Such *Lay-Deprivation* of Bishops would have been then esteemed. (3.) Nor unless the Bishops so deprived did *insist* on their Right, and *challenge* Duty, (as our deprived Bishops did) of which in this Collection there's not one Example. Debts may be *remitted*. *Not Challenging* is often taken for an Argument of their being remitted, at least not requiring Payment *now*. When *Doctrines* are concerned, (as here of the Validity of *Lay-Deprivations*) Bishops *did*, and were *commended* for insisting on their Rights. In this Collection, a small Account is given of the Bishops themselves in their own Case. (4.) Nor unless such *Non-Adherence* was thought justifiable by *Principles*, and with regard to *Conscience*; especially, when some of these instanced in, were *ignorant* and *wicked*, viz. those of later Ages. (5.) When it is not easy to gather Principles from *Non-Actions* or *Omissions*; such are *not challenging* Right on the Bishops part, and *not adhering* to them on the Subjects part. Bishops might desist, either from *Unactiveness* of Temper, or Foresight of *Difficulties* and *Dangers*, &c. (6.) Nor do the Instances produced shew the Sense of the *Catholic Church*, but of the *Greek*, especially that of *Constantiople*, nor of that *Church* in the earliest and first

first Ages. But on the contrary, the Doctrine of the *Catholick Church* may (for what appears in this Collection) be on our Side, and is so, in that (1.) the *Church* then owned no Power in the *Secular* Magistrate for *depriving* Bishops as to *Spirituals*, not even as to their particular *Districts*. In *S. Cyprian's* Time *Spiritual* Benefits were confined to the *visible Communion* of the *Church*; that appeared by their Communion with the *Bishop*; who that Bishop was, appeared by the *visible Districts* in which themselves lived, to which he was supposed to have a *Title*, whether the *Magistrate* would or no. By a *Christian Communion* with that *Bishop* of the *District* he lived in, and this signified by his *communicatory Letters*, he was entitled to Communion with *all other* Bishops in the World, and consequently with the *Catholick Church*. The Obligation, even of particular *Districts*, without Consent of the Magistrate, was then *Catholick Doctrine*; and consequently Submission to the present Bishops, as obliging in *Conscience* to the *Clergy* and *Laity* in those *Districts*, as afore. (2.) Consequently, the *Archbishops*, in those Jurisdictions, are to be taken for *no Bishops*; being *Secundi*, they are *Nulli*, was an acknowledged *Principle*. This was received as *fundamental* in the new *Peculium* from that of the *Jews*. (3.) That all who profess themselves one with the *Archbishops* so *divided* from the *Church*, were (in Consequence to the same Principles) *themselves divided* also. (4.) That all who were *united* with *Novatian*, and by consequence *divided* from the *Church* of the *Roman District*, were (in the Discipline of that early Age) look-
ed

ed on as *themselves divided* also from the *Catholick Church*; and in the first place, those that had a Hand in his Consecration. Bishops were supposed to have divided themselves from their Brethren, if they sent *communicatory Letters* to such, or received any from him. (5.) That all who were (on these Principles) thought divided from the visible Communion of the *Catholick Church*, were also (on the same Principles) thought to be *deprived* of all the *invisible Benefits* of Church Communion. GOD was not thought *obliged* to conferr those *Privileges*, but by the *Act* of those whom *Himself* had *authorized* to oblige him. These Truths were generally received among Christians, and caused them to suffer the several *Inflictions* from *Magistrates*, rather than incur the more dreaded Displeasure of their *Ecclesiastical Superiors*. These were Principles of *S. Cyprian's* Age, and descended to that of *Optatus* and *S. Augustin*. Admitting these Principles of the first Ages, all the *Collection* of *Facts* of this Author, which are of later Date, can do our Adversaries no Service, were they never so pertinent to their Purpose, till they can disarm us of the Advantage we have of the *Doctrine* of the *Catholick Church*, signified in these Instances; not only *Facts*, but *Principles* on which they proceeded, and these of the *universal Church* in the *earliest* Ages, and thence received from the *Apostles*; whereas the *Collection* is only of *Facts*, and these only of the *Greek Church*, and this in *later* Ages. But (7.) this Author allows a Separation in case of *Heresy*. When *Schism* was patronized by *Doctrines*, and justified as well done,

done, the *Divisions* were by the Ancients esteem'd *heretical*, and such *Doctrines* called *Heresy*. This not only in *Fundamentals*. The Opinion being in a Matter of *less Consequence*, makes the Separation on account thereof the *more criminal*: And such Opinions then begin to be *heretical*, when they cause an *actual Separation*: Such as the *Latitudinarian* Opinions, which weaken the Obligation in Conscience to maintain the *Church* as a *Society* in Time of *Persecution* from the *Civil Magistrate*. Supposing *Heresy* signifies an Error in *Fundamentals*, the *Church's* being a *Society* is *fundamental*. [The great Fundamental Doctrines of the *Trinity* and *Incarnation*, are here shewn to have been revealed to oblige Men to *unite* in the *Church* as a *Society*.] 'Tis at least *fundamental* as to *us*, in that the *Belief* of its *Doctrines* alone will not entitle us to the *Benefits* of our Religion, if we be *divided* from the *Church* as a *Society*. [If the *Church* should *excommunicate* for any *Errors*, she ought to do it for those Errors that are *destructive* of all Obligation to her *Communion* itself, and of her *Authority* of *Excommunicating*.] Now the *Intruders* into full Sees cannot be defended as *valid Bishops*, but by Principles fundamentally *destructive* of the *Church* as a *Society* distinct from the *State*, and that in a Time of *Persecution*. The *Clergy* and *Laity* are obliged in Conscience to adhere to their *Canonical Bishops*, unless *validly deprived*. These are no otherwise deprived, but by the *State*. If this Deprivation be *valid*, it must be defended by this Principle, that the *Lay Magistrate* has Power to *deprive Bishops*, even with regard to *Conscience*.

To

To defend which, it will be necessary to assert, that the *Authority* of the *Church*, even as to *Spirituals*, is in *Conscience* the *Right* of the *Civil Magistrate*. This will perfectly overthrow the *Church*, and disable it to subsist as a *Society*, in a *Time* of *Persecution*; for if this be the *Magistrate's Right*, it must be an *invading* of it when he *forbids* it, and then *Spiritual* Governors cannot justly pretend to it.

THIS sort of Error is *fundamental* in the *highest* Degree, in that other *Fundamentals* cannot be kept as a παρακαταθήκη without this *Fundamental*. It supposes that there must be *Governors*, and these invested with *Spiritual* Authority, by whom, and a *Communion* from whence, *Heretics*, that deny other *Fundamentals*, are to be rejected.

MR. *Dodwell* shews, that in this *Charge* (which is not *slight*, nor the *Evidence slight*) the *Adversaries* have been the *Aggressors*; they dividing themselves from *us*, (not *we* from *them*) by their erecting *new Altars* against those *Altars* they themselves have hitherto acknowledged. These Men are not kind to *us*, nor careful of *themselves*, and the *Interests* of the *Church*. The Principles they proceed on, put it in the Power of a *Popish* or *Schismatical* Prince to dissolve this *Church* when he pleases.

THUS this *First Part* shews the Weakness of our *Adversaries Reasoning* from this Collection: The *Second Part* shews, that the *Instances* therein produced are not *pertinent* to the Editor's Design for vindicating the *Validity* of the Deprivation of *Spiritual Power* by a *Lay-Authority*. And this is
R done,

done, by shewing, that this was not the *Design* of the Author; and that is made out by considering the *Occasion* of his Writing it, which was the *Schism* betwixt the *Arsenians* and *Josephians*, thus occasioned: *Arsenius* the Patriarch had excommunicated *Michael Palæologus* for putting out the Eyes of *John* Son of *Theodorus Lascalis*, of whom he was jealous. This Emperor, after his wearing a *penitential* Habit for some Time, being not restored, gets a *Synod* (he did it not by his own Authority) to depose the Patriarch. They then translate *Germanus* from the See of *Adrianople* to that of *Constantinople*, [which occasioned a Dispute about *Translations*, and a Collection of *Instances*, which are in the same *Baroccian MS.*] *Germanus* tired with the *Odium* of coming into *Arsenius's* Place, who was so *injuriously* deprived, retires; and tho' *Arsenius* endeavours his own Restoration, yet *Joseph* (who had succeeded *Germanus* at *Adrianople*) was set up against *Arsenius*. *Arsenius*, on this, acts *authoritatively*, and deprives *Joseph*, challenging his own Right upon the Vacancy. Hence those that thought *Arsenius* was injured, refused to communicate with *Joseph*: Here the *Schism* began. And tho' both Parties joined in opposing an Union with the *Latins* in the Council of *Lyons*, (held *An. Dom.* 1272.) and *Joseph* so far, as that he was deposed, and *Beccus* set up in his room; yet these that joined against the common Adversary, would not unite among *themselves*. On the Emperor's Death, (*An. Dom.* 1284.) the Exiles return, *Beccus* retires, *Joseph* enjoys the Patriarchal Throne. Tho' some did, yet the *Arsenians* (tho' *Arsenius* was then

then dead) would not communicate with *Joseph*, as being deposed by *Arsenius*. *Joseph* some time after retires, and then dies. The Emperor *Andronicus* invests *Georgius Cyprius* with the *Crosier* and *Pastoral Staff*, and (because he would have none concerned in the Schism to do it) gets *Mozula*, an *Ætolian* Bishop, to consecrate *Germanus* Bishop of *Heraclea*, (whose Right it was to preside in the Consecration of the *Patriarch*) and then, with the Bishop of *Debra*, to assist in the Consecration of *Georgius* (having first ordained him *Deacon*, then *Presbyter*) as *Patriarch*. An Union was then endeavoured betwixt the *Josephians* and *Arsenians*, and to this End the Body of *Arsenius* was received into the City with a solemn Procession; which seems not to continue long. Mr. *Dodwell* supposes the Collection was made, from the Prospect of Things then in this Author's View, *An. Dom.* 1285. The Author considers *S. Chrysostome's* Case, insisted on by the Adversaries, which is here shewn to be parallel, in many Circumstances, to that of *Arsenius*: For both except against the Authority of the Synods that deposed them, as being their *Enemies*. This Plea in neither Case was considered, but both condemned for *Non-Appearance*. In both, *Amends* was made to their *Memories* by the Translation of their *Bodies*. The *Arsenians* give this Author Occasion to observe, that past Invalidities in Ordinations did not use to be insisted on rigorously, this being insisted on by *Arsenius*. There was likewise Occasion for him in this Schism to consider the Case of *Heresy*, as affording a just Cause of Separation. Neither Party were *Latinizers*.

This Author limits the Case of *Herefy*, (1.) that it should be antecedently *condemned* by the *Church*. (2.) And *openly owned* by the pretended *Here-tick*; both which seem to have respect to *George*, who was suspected to be a *Latinizer*: If so, this was not written before the Year 1285.

MR. *Dodwell* shews, that the Occasion of this Writing did not oblige the Author to shew the Validity of *State - Deprivations*. *Arsenius's* Deprivation was by a *Synod*; and the Emperor's *Conscience* was never at Ease, till he was *absolved* from *Censures* by another Patriarch: Nay, the *Canons* produced by himself, (tho' omitted by the Editor) shew, that there is no other Way by which a Bishop could be *deposed*, but by a *Synod*. To separate from a Bishop without such a *Synodical* Deprivation, is esteemed a *Schism*. This is applied to the Case of our Deprived Bishops; and these *Canons* shewn to oblige us, tho' not explicitly received, as containing the Necessity of *Subordination*, without which Correspondence among particular *Churches* could not be maintained; and hence are obligatory, as the *Laws of Nations* oblige each Nation, tho' not taken into their Codes. However, *Facts* produced by this Author could not make obligatory *Precedents*, when contrary to *Canons* which he esteemed obligatory. Here Mr. *Dodwell* shews, how probably this *Appendix* of these *Canons* in the MS. was added by the Author of the Work to which 'tis subjoined, as adding Authority to the former: And here farther shews, that this Collection can be no *Authority* for our Adversaries, neither as to the *Sense* of the *Author*, nor of the *Church* he was con-

concerned for. *Emperors* might challenge Rights that belonged not to them, and *Bishops* for Peace sake might *wave* their own Rights, and their Clergy and Laity might *fail* in their Duty of *adhering* to them.

HOWEVER, Mr. *Dodwell* considers the particular Facts instanced in.

First, That of *Meletius* in *Antioch*. Tho' his Predecessor *Eustathius* was then living, yet he had been deposed by a *Synod*; if unjustly, he appealed not to another *Synod* that was more numerous, which was the only Method in that Case. 'Twas objected against him, that he was ordained by *Arians*; but they had not then *declared* themselves such, nor were of a *distinct* Communion; and when they declared themselves *Anomæans*, he *openly* declared against them. Such as forbore his Communion, did so, (tho' they thought him *Orthodox*) because of the *original* Defect they thought was in his Title. What would they have thought of them who came into Sees, no otherwise vacated, but by Lay-Deprivations?

THE *Second*, is the Case of *S. Chrysostome*. But (1.) this Deprivation was by two *Synods*. (2.) Many in the *East*, besides the *Western Churches*, abetted his Cause; even after his Death, till *Amends* was made to his Memory. This the Collector pretends not to *answer*, but only prevents the *Consequence* of *unraveling* the Orders of the *Intruders*; (which is not our Case) but he owns that it deserved God's *Vengeance*. He could make no universal Observation (whatever his Editors do) that *Right* was never to be defended.

THE *Third* is that of *Flavianus*, who was deposed by the *λειτουργική* Synod of *Ephesus*, and *Anatolius's* Consecration never questioned. 'Tis probable *Flavianus* was dead before *Anatolius* was consecrated, there being (as is here shewn) a very little Time, probably but three Days, betwixt *Flavianus's* Deposition, and his Death: Nor do we find any Actions of *Anatolius's* till the Year after. This Author's Account is not to be received. Here's no invading of a Right to which another had a better Title. Here might be a *defective* Title, but not an *injurious* one.

THE *Fourth* of *Euphemius's* being deprived by *Anastasius Dicorus*; but this was done by a Synod, and *Euphemius* acquiesced. Thus

THE *Fifth* of *Macedonius*, but he did not communicate with *Timotheus* his Successor, (whatever the Collector pretends) who is thought to be a *θεοπασχίτης*. Many Bishops refused to subscribe the Condemnation of *Macedonius*, which by consequence subverted the Succession of *Timotheus*. But here Mr. Dodwell observes, in the Cases of *Euphemius*, *Macedonius*, *Flavianus*, and *Elias*, that when they were so untrue to Principles, 'tis not easy to gather from Facts, what even themselves thought agreeable to Principles, considering the many Changes of their Actings; and their doing so many Things not allowable by Principles owned by them, rather than they would hazard their Places.

Elias's being deprived by the Emperor *Anastasius*, was not pretended to be done by his own Power, (how assuming soever) but *synodically*: However, *Elias's* Cession might be sufficient to
ratify

ratify the Consecration of *John*, and the Actings of those Times are shewn to be unjustifiable.

THE Author proceeds to the Time of *Athanasius*, whose Story is not by him truly related; and if it was, yet the Deprivations, being owned to be by *Synods*, signify nothing in this Case. The Story of *Maximus* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, being deprived by *Acacius* Bishop of *Casarea*, is here largely considered.

Eutychius Bishop of *Constantinople*, being exiled by *Justinian*, and then deprived by a *Synod*, as refractory for Non-Appearance, disowns the Proceedings as unjust. His Owning Communion with *John*, who was substituted in his room, an improbable thing, and not proved, because the Names of both of them were retained in the *Diptychs* of the Times of this Author; in that some, who had been excluded from the *Diptychs*, were afterwards restored. This shewn not to be serviceable to this Author's Design.

Anthimus deposed for *Heresy*, and therefore justly, and this by *Ecclesiasticks*, is of no Service in this Case; nay, the Contrary, when done against the Will of the *Secular* Power: This being complied with very unwillingly by *Justinian*; and that on his Wife's Account, who was a Patroness of *Anthimus*.

THE Cases of the four *Monothelite* Bishops, (one of whom surrender'd) shewn to be impertinent.

Callinicus had his Eyes put out for his Rebellion, and therefore, we may probably conclude his *Cession*. Whether he communicated with *Cy-*

rus, who was substituted in his room, is uncertain.

THE *Orders* being *valid*, conferred by *Iconoclasts*, (supposed by this Author *Hereticks*) foreign to this Case. Among these *Germanis* abdicated: *Plato* and *Theodorus's* Separation from their Patriarchs is condemned, it wanting Episcopal Authority. Here the gradual Encroachments of *Monks* on the *Sacerdotal* Office is consider'd, who, being the *chiefest* in the *Arsenian* Schism, are chiefly regarded by this Author, and such who had *no Bishop* to head them in their *Schism*.

THIS Author's Principles can do no Service to our Adversaries, when he allows of no other Cause as just for separating from a Bishop, but *Heresy*: This none charge our Deprived Fathers with: What Reason then have their Subjects to desert them? Our Deprived Bishops must be supposed to retain a *Union* with the *Episcopal College*, till there be some Act of the *College* to deprive them. And hence the *Invaders* of their Jurisdictions divide themselves from the *Episcopal College*.

THE Case of *Ignatius* and *Photius*, is particularly consider'd. *Ignatius* was deprived by the *Imperial Power*, *An. Dom. 858*. possibly some few *Bishops* and *Monks* concurring. They used Rigors to make him resign his *Right*, but in vain. These Proceedings were condemned by Pope *Nicolas I.* and the Western Bishops, and at first by the Eastern, till Terrors prevailed to a Compliance. *Bardas* could not get a *Synod* to condemn *Ignatius*, before the latter End of the Year 860. This called the *Archbishop's Synod*, because held

held in several Places, the Bishops being recalled upon the Arrival of the Pope's Legates, who were either *forced* or *bribed* to concur in the Condemnation of *Ignatius*. The Pope was surprized at this, his Legates being only sent to *enquire* into the Case, *Photius* pretending that *Ignatius* had *resigned*. In the Synod, *Ignatius* pleaded, that he ought to be restored to his *Possession* before he could be *tried*: But this would not be admitted. When a *Council* of 318 had determined for *Photius*, he pleaded then his Right, till another and a *greater* Council had reversed the Decree. Such was the *Roman* Council under *Nicolas*; but this was not admitted by the Eastern Bishops, they not owning their Authority, because the Cause (according to the *Antiochian* Canons) was to be decided, being Matter of *Fact*, in the same Place where the *Fact* had happen'd: The Dispute of the Pope's *Jurisdiction* being not insisted on, nor pleaded by *Ignatius*; and the *Roman* Synod was so little regarded by the *Photians*, that they condemned Pope *Nicolas* himself. In all this Dispute the *Emperor's* Authority is never urged, but that of *Synods*. *An. D. 867*, *Michael* was murder'd, and *Basilus* excommunicated for it by *Photius*, who for this is dispossessed by *Basilus* of the Patriarchal Palace, and *Ignatius* resettled, that being in *Possession* he might (as he pleaded before) be canonically tried by a *Synod*: Otherwise his being obtruded by a *Secular* Power, did (by *Apostol. Can. 30.*) prejudice his Right. The *Emperor* looked not on his own Act as decisive in this Case, but would have both Parties send their Legates to the Pope, possibly
as

as looking on his own Act as an Execution of the Decree of the *Roman Council*; by which he distasted his own Party, in preferring an *Italick Council* to that of a *Domestick*, and an *elder* to a *later*: He did Things *himself*, which ought to have been reserved to the Hearing of a *Synod*: And besides, would have obliged the Bishops *before-hand* to stand to the Decision of the Pope's Councils, and *Photius* was before any *Conciliarly* Hearing condemned: And this, notwithstanding *Basilius* had subscribed to *Photius's* Council. By which Way of Defending, *Ignatius* injured his just Cause: Enjoyed the Patriarchal Throne till his Death, *An. Dom. 878*. Then *Photius* was restored by the same Emperor that had excluded him, and now had no longer any *Rival* that could pretend a better Title. [His own Writings were suppressed, and the Account we have of him, is from his Adversaries.] He calls a *General Council*, confirmed by the Pope, wherein (among other Things) *Photius* is owned for lawful Patriarch: And 'twas stipulated, that there should be no indecent Reflexions on the Memory of *Ignatius*.

MR. *Dodwell* largely shews, how little this Instance is serviceable to the Design of the Author of the MS. *Ignatius* would not resign. If he seemed at any time to yield, 'twas thro' *Fear*, and not from *Conscience*; which, when he had Leisure seriously to consider, persuaded him to do contrary. No Communication with each other. The *Ignatians* forbore the Communion of *Photius*, even after the Death of *Ignatius*.

NEITHER is it serviceable to our Adversaries, in that the *Deprivations* were never esteemed valid, till they were *synodical*. And *Basil* excused himself in what he did, by saying, that what he did was only as an Execution of the *Church's Decree*.

As for the next Instance of *Photius's* being deprived by *Leo Sapiens*, in order to get his own Brother *Stephanus* substituted in his stead, and that no *Schism* followed: 'Tis owned that *Leo*, and that on Reasons of *State*, endeavoured to get *Photius* deprived; yet 'tis probable, that it was done by *Photius's* own *Consent*, as appears by Pope *Stephen's* Letter, citing the Emperor's Letter to himself; that *Photius* did choose a private Life, and that there was a Difference betwixt *abrenuntiassse*, renouncing, (which was *Photius's* Case) and *expulsum esse*, to be driven out: Besides other Circumstances, which make it probable that his *Cession* was voluntary. Hence he could not justly challenge his Peoples *Duty*, after he had himself quitted his Throne.

As for the Deposition of *Nicolas Mysticus*, by *Leo Sapiens*, for the opposing his Marriage, and the setting up of *Euthymius* against him, [which is shewn to be in the Year 906, against *Baronius*] 'tis probable it was done by a *Synod*, not only by the Authority of *Eutychius*, but also from other Circumstances; that the Emperor had the Legates of the *Patriarchal Sees* concurring with him, and probably neighbouring Bishops of his own Dominions, which made an *Appearance* of a *general Council*. Here Mr. *Dodwell* shews, how this Author was mistaken, in saying, that no
Schism

Schism ensued on this Deprivation, and this, notwithstanding the *Orthodoxy* of *Euthymius*, in the Case then debated of *Fourth Marriages*. This not proved by *Zonaras*, or the *Tomus Unionis*. For this supposes a Difference betwixt the Parties when *alive*; and that the Church afterwards was in *Communion* with both, as far as the *Dead* are capable of *Communion* with the *Living*, that is, by an honourable *Commemoration*. Here the Acclamations to the *Tomus Unionis* are shewn to be in the Year 998, a long time after the Deaths of those rivalling Patriarchs.

As for the Instance of *Cosmas Atticus's* being deposed from the See of *Constantinople* by the Emperor *Manuel Comnenus*, and that no *Schism* ensued: 'Tis here shewn, that it was done by a *Synod*, and that he was so far from *acquiescing*, that he *excommunicated* the Bishops of that *Synod*, whom he reckoned as *Criminals*, and hence incompetent *Judges*: That this Author is mistaken, in supposing *Theodosius* the immediate Successor of *Cosmas*, and being in *Communion* with him. Also, that *Cosmas* was deprived by the *Synod* for *Heresy*, (and hence *justly*) at least such in the Opinion of them that deprived him.

As for the Deprivations under *Isaacius Angelus*, they were not purely by the Emperor's Pleasure, all of the Bishops being deprived by *Synods*, or else *abdicated*. Hence, no Wonder that no *Schism* followed.

HERE Mr. *Dodwell* shews, how Mr. *Hody's* Exhortation to the deprived Bishops, to *yield* for *Peace-sake*, is more applicable to his *own* Fathers: In that there can be no Arguments why good Men

Men ought to *surrender Rights* for Peace-sake, but what will more cogently hold for *surrendring Usurpations*: Considering *Oaths* of Canonical Obedience; that the *Interests* of Religion are of higher Concernment than all the *worldly Politicks*; tho' withall, the *Truths* which our Holy Fathers suffer for the Defence of, are most for the *Interest* of the *State*. Mr. Hody's Instances make against him. *Clemens Romanus* persuades not the *Presbyters*, but the *Schismaticks*, who invaded the Rights of the *Presbyters*, to Submission: Which Mr. Dodwell fully proves. *Dionysius Alexandrinus* directs his Addresses not to *Cornelius*, but to *Novatian* who had done the Injury: And then Mr. Dodwell concludes with a *pathetical Persuasive* to *Unity*, and such an Union as is founded on *Principles*.

To this are added the *Canons* in the *Barocian MS.* suppressed by Mr. Hody, which shew, that the Author of the MS. could not design the Defence of *Lay-Deprivations*; they shewing the Sense of the Church of *Constantinople*, and of the Author, opposite to Mr. Hody's chief Design.



CHAP. XXII.

*A Defence of the Vindication of
the Deprived Bishops.*



O this Vindication, when Dr. Hody wrote an Answer, Mr. Dodwell published his *Defence*: Wherein he shews, that seeing Dr. Hody has not considered the main Question of the Lay-Magistrates *Right* to *deprive Bishops*, and hence, that such as are *substituted* in the room of these cannot *claim* our Subjection, his Reply cannot be esteemed a sufficient *Answer*; especially, when he grants the *Invalidity* of *Lay-Deprivations*: Neither gains he any thing by *altering* the *State* of the *Question*, by putting it upon the *Lawfulness* of *Submission* to *Invaders*, in that his whole Proof is unconclusive, if we admit the *Invalidity* of *Lay-Deprivations*; none being obliged to *submit* to them, who *intrude* into the *Districts* of those who are thus *invalidly* deprived. [The Matter of *Fact* that it was sometimes done, does not prove that it was *lawfully* done.] This *Submission* being proved to be *sinful*, by the *Holy Scriptures*, and to be paid to *lawful* Governors, 1 *Thess.* v. 12. *Heb.* xiii. 17. Who our Governors are, to whom we owe Subjection, must be determined (as in the other *Commands* of the *Second Table*) by the *Determination*

tion of *Humane Authority*. It makes us *Accomplices* in the *Injustice* of the *Usurpers*, notwithstanding *Persecution* which may ensue, which is falsely called *Ruin*: And for the *Publick Good*, when 'tis for the Interest of the *Spiritual*, which is the most *valuable*, Society. It is contrary to the *Oath* of *Canonical Obedience* taken to the *lawful Possessor*. The *Bishop's Banishment* no Release from Subjection to him. Mr. *Dodwell* shews the Reason of submitting to *Synodical Deprivations*, in that the *Synod* is a *competent Judge*; that there is a great *Disparity* betwixt submitting to a *competent* and an *incompetent Authority*.

DR. *Hody's* Presumption, that our deprived Fathers give their *Consent*, and hence their Subjects are discharged from Subjection to them, is not admitted. This renders *Oaths* for *Security* insignificant. *Good Men* are not *obliged* to surrender their *Rights*, whenever *wicked Men* are pleased to *invade* them. There's no ground to *presume*, that our deprived Fathers do not *challenge* their *Rights*, in that they have made no express *Renunciation* of them: Especially, when they give *Significations* (as *publick* as can be expected in their Circumstances) that they *challenge* them. 'Tis the Interest of all Societies, that the *Members* be *unanimous* in *defending* the particular Persons in whom the *Government* is invested, against a *forcible Dispossession*: Much more of the *Church*, considering, that *Union* with the *Father* and the *Son* is maintained by *Union* with the *Church*, and that by *Union* with the *Bishop*, who is the *Principle of Unity*.

INTRUDING Bishops are proved to be *Nulli*, not only from *S. Cyprian's* Saying, but from the *Nature* of the *Thing* itself. Here the Difference is shewn, betwixt one deprived by a *competent* Authority, (as a *Synod* is in this Case) tho' unjustly, and one deprived by an *incompetent* Authority.

DR. Hody speaks of the *Evils* that will ensue by *Non-compliance* with the Intruders, viz. *Schism*, and *Persecution*: This latter, Mr. Dodwell shews, the Ancients had not such Thoughts of, as Dr. Hody, but courted *Martyrdom*. The *Canons* against provoking *Persecutors* were not made, till Primitive Zeal was abated. Persecution is an Evil of *Calamity*, and less than that of *Sin*. *Scandal*, as Cause of *Sin*, is a greater *Evil*, and hence more to be avoided than *Persecution*. As for *Schism*, (owned an Evil of the first Magnitude) 'tis not *avoided*, but *incurred*, by *Compliance* with *Usurpers*. They owned the Deprived Bishops as well as *we*; this *they*, as well as *we*, ought still to do, unless they were *justly* deprived: They consecrated the *Innovators*: They act from *worldly* Considerations, *we* from *Conscience*.

THE *Abuses* that may follow on *Compliance*, (such as the *Civil Governor's* being thereby encouraged to turn out Bishops as he pleases) are a just Reason to *refuse* it, where it is not otherwise, in *Conscience*, due. *Abuse* of a *competent* Authority is no Argument against this, particularly that of *Synods*. Whatever Dr. Hody pretends to the contrary, there is no *Security* in this Kingdom that Bishops should not be turned out, in that *Episcopacy* itself was once thrown out
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here, and is now in Scotland. Notwithstanding the Security the Clergy have, and ought to have; it has been arbitrarily treated in K. Henry VIII.'s Time, and since, more than any Body of the Laity. The like may happen again, when Men have not true Principles; the Asserting of which is the greatest Security. The Dissolving of such a Society as the Church is, is a greater Mischief than can be made amends for by all the Doctor's Expedients: [And he ought to be sensible both of the Schism and the Persecution. The Fewness of the Persons that suffer, should not render them the less considerable, as in those that suffered under Constantius:] Such Expedients, as the Allowing Subjects to desert their Superiors on pretence of irresistible Force, and the Renouncing Principles that may oblige them to adhere to their Ecclesiastical Governors, whensoever the State refuses to protect them: To make Persons that are invested with Authority, to be regarded only as private Persons, (as Dr. Hody doth the Bishops) and whose Interests are different from the Publick, and hence to be removed, is the Foundation of all Rebellion. How private soever the Interests of Persons have been, yet the Publick has thought itself concerned, when such have been invested with the Government, to prevent their Dispossession. The Persons of the Supreme have been made sacred, to secure them from Violence: And this with reason, because the Societies themselves could not be defended without the Defence of their Governors from Violence.

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DR. Hody's arguing from *Facts* is inconclusive, and himself is unwilling to stand to *Consequences*.

No Disparity (as Dr. Hody pretends) betwixt *Cornelius* and our deprived Fathers, in respect to *Possession of Spirituals*.

MR. Dodwell shews his Unwillingness to deal in Matters that are *Personal*, or in *Facts* of later *Ages*, as being *undecisive*; yet, even in these, none are produced to prove the Validity of *Lay-Deprivations*; in that Emperors, who rashly deprived, endeavoured to procure Ratifications by *Synods*.

THE Case of *Abiathar* (it being insisted on by many) Mr. Dodwell selected, to consider; viz. his being deposed by *Solomon*, and *Zadoc* placed in his room. (1.) This Fact is only mentioned, not commended as a *Precedent*. (2.) The Magistrate, according to the Doctrine of that Age, could have no direct Power over the *Priesthood*. God asserted the Power of the Priesthood by the Punishment of *Corah*, *Aaron's Rod* blossoming, not excepting to punish Kings, as *Saul* and *Uzziah*, when intruding into the Priest's Office; and he puts peculiar Honours on the *Priesthood*; on this Reason, because the *Benefits* of the *Priesthood* were out of the Power, and far greater than any in the Power of the *Civil Magistrate*, viz. that of admitting to *Sacrifices*, in which the *Covenants* that concerned a future Life, were transacted. The *Sadducees* that denied a future State, were esteemed *Hereticks*; and that the Priest's Ministry was available to the Attainment thereof, we have the Testimony of *Philo* and *Josephus*,
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and the Author of the Book of *Wisdom*, that this was the Belief of the *Jews*; consequently they owned, (and this they did expressly) that the *Priesthood* was more *honourable* than the *Magistracy* itself. Thus *Philo*, and *Josephus*, and the Author of the *Testament of the Patriarchs*, a Work near as ancient as the Apostles. The *Priesthood* besides is thus honourable, as the *Priest* represents *God*, (tho' without Relation to a future State) whence *God* is obliged to ratify His *Blessings* and *Curses*; a Notion which is plainly supposed by the Apostle in the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, ch. v. 1, 4. This implied in the *Unction* of Priests, which exceeded that to the *Regal Power*, *Kings* being not empowered to *consecrate*. Several Degrees of relative Holiness; that of the *High-Priest* the highest. (3.) *Solomon's Act* on *Abiathar* was only of *Force*, a Punishment for his *secular Crime*, which took not away *Abiathar's Right*, but rendred it impracticable, he being banished thereby from *Jerusalem*, and hence was debarred from, (1.) deciding Cases by *Urim*. (2.) From *sacrificing*, which was to be performed at the *Altar* in *Jerusalem*, and in that the *Vestments* were there kept. Here is shewn, how *Solomon* was in Conscience obliged to be cautious in exercising *Force* against the *Priesthood*. [As holy Places were allowed the Right of Protection, much more were *Persons*:] And on a particular Reason towards the Priests of the *Jews*, as they were a *Theocracy*, where the *supreme Magistrate* was obliged to act according to the Mind of *God*, whose *Viceroy* he was; and hence to honour the *Priest*, who was His *Representative*.

(5.) *Solomon* by this acting, fulfilled what *God* had before threatned against the House of *Eli*; and, *1 Kings* ii. 27. intimates, that he did it as an Executioner of *Samuel's Prediction*, not to be deferred longer, this being the *Fourth Generation* from *Eli*. (6.) This was not the Deprivation of a *High-Priest*, properly so called; (*Abiathar* was not such, but *Zadoc*) that is, the *Principle of Unity*, answerable to our *Bishops* under the Gospel. *Zadoc* was High-Priest in the Time of *David*. *2 Sam.* xv. 24. Joined with *Abimelech*, *1 Chron.* xviii. 16. Always reckoned superiour to *Abiathar*: That the *High-Priesthood* was translated from the Family of *Eleazar* to that of *Ithamar*, has no Foundation in *Holy Scripture*. The Wearing of the *Ephod*, and Answering by *Urim*, proves not this. As *Aaron*, so all his Sons were *Sharers* in the Execution of the Office of *High-Priest*: Only with Dependence on him, while living; and after, on him who should succeed him as *Chief*, and the *Principle of Unity*; to whom the Wearing of the *Vestments*, which were but one, did belong, and never to the second, but when the *Principal* was incapacitated by *Sickness*, or *Uncleanness*. [The *Sagan*, a *Rabbinical Reasoning*.] So that there were *Two High-Priests* at once; the chief, as *Zadoc*, of the House of *Eleazar*; the lower, as *Abiathar*, of the Family of *Ithamar*. There was no Deprivation of the *Posterity of Phineas*. This would have been inconsistent with the Promises made to him of an *everlasting Priesthood*.

WHEN *Zadoc* is said to be put, by the King, in the room of *Abiathar*, 'tis to be understood, of the Com-

Commitment of the *Courses* of *Ithamar* to him, which were not under him before, but were managed by *Abiathar*. Yet so committed to three, as to be managed by one nominated by him, who is called the *Second Priest*, 2 *Kings* xxv. 18. They of the *Second Order*, (2 *Kings* xxiii. 4.) were the eight *Courses* of *Ithamar*. (7.) Had *Abiathar* been unjustly deprived, and invalidly, this could not have justified a *Separation* of the *Jews* on his Account; because not he, but *Zadoc*, was the *Principle of Unity*, and therefore Union with him would have preserved them from being guilty of *Schism*. Hence their Case differs from ours. Afterwards, when the *Jews* were not under *Governors* of their own Nation, true *High-Priests* were then deprived by the *secular Power*. But, when *Invasions* had passed into a *Prescription*, as in our *Saviour's* Time, then he that had the *Possession* had really the best *Title*; *Prescription* being sufficient to extinguish an *Original Right*. [Thus now among the *Constantinopolitan Greeks*.] And when any was in *Possession* of the one *Altar* at *Jerusalem*, he was to be submitted to as the true *High-Priest*, the *Communion* of the *Jews* being confined by *God* to that one *Altar*: But under the *Gospel* the *Bishop* is the *Standard* of our *Christian Altars*, and (according to *Ignatius*) where he is, there the *Peculium* is to assemble.

THEN Mr. *Dodwell* proceeds to shew, that the *Reasoning* for exempting *Bishops* from the *Power* of *Princes* holds stronger than in the Case of *Abiathar*. (1.) They are properly *Priests*, 1 *Cor.* ix. 13, 14. The *Apostle* supposes a *Priest-*

hood, a Temple, and an Altar, among Christians, as much as among the Jews. And, chap. x. 16, 17. The Eucharist being properly a Sacrifice: The Jewish Sacrifices were available, as they represented the Sacrifice of CHRIST afterwards to be offered up: Our Eucharist, as it represents CHRIST's Archetypal Sacrifice already offered on the Cross. (2.) The Gospel-Priesthood is more noble than that of Abiathar. 'Tis a better διαθήκη, more lasting, Melchizedekian. If the Sacredness of the Function formerly rendred the Invasion thereof criminal and piacular, much more does it now, when 'tis more holy. (3.) This Reasoning was admitted in the Apostolick Age, particularly by Clemens Romanus in his Epistle to the Corinthians. The Occasion of whose writing, was the Forcing their Governors out of Possession. He argues from GOD's Care to assert the Rights of the Priesthood among the Jews, and that their Offices should be performed in due Order, enumerating the several Ranks; adding Laicks, by which he intimates, that such were guilty of invading the sacerdotal Offices among the Corinthians, [whereas even inferiour Ecclesiasticks ought not to presume upon the Offices of them who were superiour.] That such Invaders had suffered capitally, and argues from Precedents under the Law, which hold more strongly under the Gospel: That the Apostles [Peter and Paul] had made Provision against Disorders, by placing such in the sacred Office, whom these Mutineers had dispossest; and by taking care for a Succession [ἐπινομή] by the [ἐλλόγιμοι] Persons of the highest Rank, who ordained such as should succeed. These received their

their Authority from the Apostles, they from CHRIST, He from GOD. Such could not be turned out by any that had not such Authority, tho' gifted; much less can any thus deprive, who have no such Pretence as these gifted Persons. S. Clement argues, (as we) that they should cleave to these that were thus deprived; expresses a Concern for the Consequences on this Schism; wishes the schismatical Rivals would repent, and return to their Duty, severely censuring them; confines the Elect to the true Communion; and pathetically persuades to Peace, and Condescension. (4.) The Laity cannot now pretend to an indirect Right of depriving Bishops, as the Jewish Princes could in the Case of the Jewish Priesthood; in that our Bishops Acts are not confined to Cathedrals, as the Jewish High-Priest's to the Temple; the One acceptable Altar now follows the Bishop, not the Bishop the Altar. The Jewish Civil Constitution patronized that Church, ours was founded under persecuting Magistrates; hence its Rights were so ordered, as not to depend on the Civil Magistrate, not even with respect to Districts. Dr. Hody's implicit Contract, of the Bishops Submission to be deposed by the Civil Magistrate, upon account of his Permission of them to settle Districts, is compared with Bellarmin's, that the Crown should be at the Bishops Disposal. Secular Crimes in Bishops may be punished by the secular Magistrate, but in such a Way as properly belongs to his Right, such as Depriving of secular Honours and Revenues. But that the Magistrate has no Power to deprive in Spirituals, the Reasoning holds universally: No, not for temporal Crimes. The

Primitive Christians were charged with these; and hence, an *Owning* such a *Power* in the Magistrate to *deprive* Bishops, would have been destructive to Christianity. That *Power* was not owned in the *First Ages*. The Allowance of the deprived Bishops *Character*, when deprived of their *Districts*, is not sufficient to prove, that their *spiritual Rights* have not been *invaded*. The *Power* of Magistrates over particular *Districts* is shewn not to be acknowledged by the *Apostles* and first *Christians*. But 'tis said, that when the *Church* and *State* make *one Body*, the Case is altered. [Supposing the Truth of this, some things are shewn to be wanting to make it applicable to the present Case.] But here 'tis shewn, that the *Prince*, on account of his being a *Christian*, has no Title to *spiritual Authority*: The Prince is received into the Church by *Baptism*, as a *private Person*, and a *Subject* to *spiritual Authority*, and remains as such, whilst he continues only as a *Lay-Man*. His *Baptism* is wholly *personal*, neither are his *Subjects* concerned in it. As a *Prince's*, so a whole *Nation's*, being received into the Church by *Baptism*, cannot alter the Nature of the Church; it remains, as it was before, a *distinct Society*. The *Church* and *State* still continue *Two distinct Societies*: In the *Coalition*, the Government of one of them doth not *surrender* to, nor own *Dependence* on, the Government of the other. Farther, the *Benefits* the *Church* receives from the *State*, lay no *Obligation* to remit her *Rights*: In that the *State* receives greater *Benefits* from the *Church* and *Religion*, than what the *Church* receives from the *State*; *Ties of Con-*
science

science being the strongest Obligations of Subjects to obey their Princes; and all that the *Prince* enjoys as a *Prince*, in his *own Person*, are not comparable to what he enjoys, and may expect, as a *Member* of the *true Communion*; and what besides his *Subjects* enjoy; and the vast Benefit Religion is of to the *temporal* Welfare of Civil Societies.

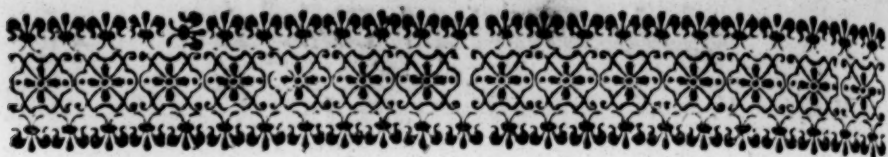
THEN 'tis shewn, that if the *State* had been capable of conferring greater Obligations, yet a *pious Magistrate* could not, in reason, design such a *Recompence* as should oblige the *Church* to yield any of her *ancient Rights*: In that he would conclude, that these were *necessary* for its Good, when *bestowed* on it by the *wise God*, who knew what was best for its *Welfare* and *Security*; and not put it in the Power of a *Successor* to *dissolve* this *spiritual Society*. 'Tis granted, that *Princes* have been allowed a *Right* to secure their own *temporal Power* against the *Invasion* of *Ecclasiasticks*, and to keep Persons out not yet *canonically possessed*, (the Enjoyment of *Temporalities* being in his Power;) but not to *turn* any out, who were already in *Possession* of *Bishopricks*: And this without any proper *Cession* of *Right* on the *Church's* part. 'Tis shewn, that the Power of *turning* out of *Bishops* once *possessed*, is too great to be granted to a *Prince* on any *Consideration* whatsoever; because it puts it in his *Power* to *dissolve* and *destroy* this *spiritual Society*, seeing the *Securing* the *Subsistence* of all *Societies* is antecedent to all other *Obligations*. Though it may be otherwise in other *Societies*, yet in this *Case*, no *temporal Favour* whatsoever can
make

make amends for the *Loss* of the Benefits of the *Spiritual Society*; than which nothing can be more *valuable*. There can, therefore, be no implicit *Contracts* for such an Exchange, that can in *Equity* oblige the *Ecclesiastical Governors* to Performance, tho' it had been in their Power to make such a *Contract*. But 'tis shewn, that 'tis not in their Power to make such a *Contract*, in that it is a *Trust* committed to them by God, which it is not in their Power to *alienate*; and committed not for *themselves* alone, but for the *Interest* of *Souls* in general: What Alienation they make, is not *valid*, unless *ratified* by God. And that 'tis not agreeable to the *Mind* of God, that the *Church* should so *concorporate* with the *State*, as that the *Bishops* should be *deprivable* at the Pleasure of the *Civil Magistrates*, who are too regardless of the Concerns of *Religion*; especially, seeing it was founded at first *independent* on the *State*. Several things (as *Synods*) which are requisite to the Welfare of the Church, cannot be performed, if wholly under the Power of the *Magistrate*, who is not a *competent Judge* of the *Church's Interest*. Hence it appears, that the *Surrendry* made by the *Clergy* under K. Henry VIII. cannot oblige their Posterity *now*, especially when *extorted*, and the Prince had no antecedent *Right* to force it. Seeing the Example of the *Jewish Kings* are produced to justify that Transaction, 'tis shewn, that there's no *Reasoning* from the *Rights* of *Jewish Princes* to that of *Christian Princes* now. Then the Prince was obliged to be of the *true Religion*, to be the *Head* of the *Theocracy*, and the Concerns of the *Peculium* were confined to that Na-
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tion which was commanded by one Prince. All quite different now. Their *Priesthood* was not practicable under *Persecution*, when no *Temple*. Our *Priesthood* expressly conveys *Spiritual* and *Eternal* Benefits.

THE late *Deprivations*, with respect to *Spirituals*, are shewn not justifiable by our present *secular Laws*. The *Supremacy*, in *Causes Ecclesiastical*, is placed in the *King*, yet so as not to confound the several *Courts* and *Jurisdictions*, to which *Causes* are appropriated by the *Laws* themselves. To *Bishops* the Ordering of *Ecclesiastical* Affairs belongs. Hence *Constantine* made *Conscience* of swerving unnecessarily from this Custom, which was the *Church's* Right. Here Mr. *Hooker's* Judgment is delivered, and the late Bishop of *London's*, and his *Counsel's* excepting against *Lay-Mens* being *Commissioners* to judge him, in K. *James II.'s* Time. *Magna Charta*, in the first place, secures the *Church's* Rights. These were never disputed till K. *Henry VIII.'s* Time: Nor is there any *Precedent* of any *Successor* being substituted into a See vacated by no better than a *Lay-Deprivation*. Mr. *Dodwell* concludes, with his Desire and Hope, that the Cause he had undertaken might not suffer by his weak Management: And with his *Prayers*, that God would dispose his Adversaries to follow Truth rather than *worldly Interests*, by which they would come to be concerned, that our Church may not depend on the precarious Pleasure of a persecuting Magistrate.





CHAP. XXIII.

The Doctrine of the Church of England, of the Independency of the Clergy on the Lay-Power, in Spirituals, &c.



R. Dodwell wrote a Tract, which was designed as a *Preface*, and so at first published, to the *Defence of his Vindication of the Deprived Bishops*; but being then suppressed, (because it could not be answer'd) was afterwards printed with this Title, *The Doctrine of the Church of England, concerning the Independency of the Clergy on the Lay-Power, as to those Rights of theirs which are purely Spiritual, reconciled with our Oath of Supremacy, and the Lay-Deprivations of the Popish Bishops in the Beginning of the Reformation*; these being insisted on by the Defenders of the *Lay-Deprivation* of the Non-juring Bishops. As for the *Doctrine* of our Church, we ought to pay a Deference to it, but in the first place to that of the *Primitive Church*, which was professed as the Standard of our Reformation; especially in Things essential to the Subsistence of the Church; and such is that which concerns the Independence of the Sacred, on the Civil, Authority. Late
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Precedents must not over-rule an Authority nearer to Originals, more universal, and less liable to Corruption. A Particular *Church* must allow itself Liberty of Varying from what has actually been received by her; neither doth such an Acknowledgment of her being fallible, prejudice her Authority, when 'tis to be over-ruled by a greater Authority: Such is that of the *Primitive Catholick Church*. This is fitted to be an Arbitrator (in many Respects here mentioned) in Differences betwixt particular Modern *Churches*; for which no one particular Modern *Church* is now fitted. 'Tis here made evident, that our Behaviour expresses more *Love* and *Concern* for our own particular *Church*, than that of our late Brethren does, in that we are willing to suffer for the Maintenance of her Rights, when invaded by a Lay-Power, (which our Adversaries betray by their Assertions and Principles) when deprived of them by *Henry VIII.* and the Surrendry of the Clergy then made; and are ready to contribute, what lies in us, to recover them; tho' to our own Loss, yet to the *Church's* Advantage, in that otherwise it will cease to be a *Church* when the Magistrate pleases.

WE, according to the Principles of our *Church*, acknowledge the *King's Supremacy*: But not according as 'tis explain'd in *Henry VIII.'s* Days, when the Power of Preaching, and Administring Sacraments, was not permitted to Persons consecrated to the Sacred Ministry, unless allowed by the Magistrate, tho' a Lay-Man. This makes the Authority of the blessed Apostles precarious, and Persons left indifferent to obey them, in that
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the Apostles had no Civil Empire. All Branches of Spiritual Power were then taught to be derived from the King, and all left to his arbitrary Power. [How little Archbishop *Cranmer's* Authority is to be herein regarded, is here shewn, when contrary to the Interest of the *Church*.] Tho' Papal Tyranny was then cast out, yet the *Church* was exposed to a worse, when deprived of all Security from the Encroachments of the Lay-Magistrate. Those Principles were not generally owned then, nor by our Adversaries now. Who cannot therefore be displeased with us for disowning a Supremacy founded on such Principles.

HERE the several Steps of this Supremacy, as assumed by *Henry VIII.* are considered. The first *Anno 12.* distinguishes the Spiritual from the Temporal Authority, and permits the Exercise of Spiritual Authority to Ecclesiasticks: Then no meer Lay-Authority was sufficient for a Deprivation of Spirituals. The second *Anno 25.* after the Surrendry of the Clergy; the Power which by the former Act was invested in the *Convocation*, was granted to the King himself. Then a Commission of *Coercion* in Spiritual Affairs was granted to *Cromwell*: Yet then odious, when his Asserting the Power equal in every Christian, as in a Priest, to consecrate the Sacrament, was one Article against him in his Attainder: And there was no Successor to that exorbitant Power that was executed by *Cromwell*. The Grant to him was *Personal*; and the Bishops taking out *Commissions* from the King was not commanded by any Law. Tho' the King was invest-
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ed with Authority in Spirituals, yet when he executed that Power by Ecclesiasticks, who had that Power before, this was tolerable.

THAT in *Anno 26.* went farther, and granted greater Spiritual Authority to the King in all the Kinds of it. But yet it may be supposed, that the Authority might be in those Persons whom the King obliged to exercise it: If not derived from him, 'twas not deprivable by him. But that *Anno 37.* the Parliament asserts the Supremacy in such a Sense, as may qualify the King, tho' a *Lay-Man*, to a Right to inflict *Spiritual Censures*, and this, as *Supreme Magistrate*; and that whatever *Spiritual Jurisdiction* Ecclesiasticks exercised, was derived from the King as *Supreme Head* of these *Churches*. But that Time was not fit for *Precedents*, which violated the *Magna Charta*, established by the most solemn *Imprecations* on the Violators thereof.

[HERE is shewn how such *Imprecations* are not to be despised, on account of the Superstitions that attended them; otherwise our Civil Properties have no Foundation of Security, if Ancestors have no Right to oblige their Posterity: And all Leagues must expire with the Persons that made them. This is founded on the Belief that GOD has obliged Himself to punish the Violators with the Punishments they imprecated on themselves, tho' mistaken in the True Religion; as he did the *Sichemites* and *Abimelech* for the Breach of their Covenants, tho' made in the Temple of *Baal-berith*.]

How unfit *Henry VIII.*'s Days are for *Precedents*, is shewn from the great Exorbitancies of that

that Time enacted by Parliaments, even in respect to Civil Rights.

IN Queen *Elizabeth's* Time the Case was alter'd, who laid aside the Title of *Supreme Head*, and this by the Advice of *Protestants*, who would not otherwise have taken the Oath. As for the *Supremacy*, tho' in her first Parliament revised, as in her Father's, and Brother's Reign; yet, by her Injunctions, those Principles that prevailed in those Reigns, are named a *Perverse Construction* of the Supremacy, at least with respect to the Oath. The *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, (that should have been enacted into a Law, had not *Edward VI.'s* Death prevented it) in compiling of which Archbishop *Cranmer* had a principal Hand, owns the Power of the *Keys*, of Administring the *Sacraments*, and of *Excommunication*, to be given by CHRIST to the *Ministers* of His Church. The Sense of the Legislators is to be known by their Professions and Practice. The Owning of *Cranmer's* Principles was not, by Queen *Elizabeth*, expected of Persons that took the Oath: And we have Reason to believe, that we are not obliged thereto now. The two Points meant in the Oath are, (1.) That our Princes have the Sovereignty over *all Persons* born in their Dominions, as well *Ecclesiastical* as *Civil*. (2.) That no *Foreign* Power ought to have any Superiority over Persons born in this Realm. These are only insisted on in the Oaths, in which Sense they are to be taken, as Reviving ancient Rights, which, having been disputed in former Reigns, were now determined. There were no elder Disputes concerning the Validity of Lay-
Depri-

Deprivations, or of Ecclesiastical Authority being derived from the King. The Belief of these Things was not imposed in King *Henry VIII.*'s Time, much less expected now.

By *Spiritual Causes* in the Oath, we are to understand all *Temporals* that are annexed to *Spirituals*, and are for that Reason called *Spiritual*; as Baronies and Benefices, *Causes* originally *Political*, which before Princes Conversion to Christianity belonged to *Secular Courts*, have since been permitted to *Spiritual Jurisdiction*, as *Causes Matrimonial* and *Testamentary*. When no Appeals from *Spiritual Courts* were permitted, there was no Remedy left to the *Secular Prince* for Redress; and so when the *Persons* of the Clergy were exempt, as *Spiritual*, when guilty of *Secular Crimes*. Such Things might be requisite in the first Times of Christianity, when Heathens were Judges, 1 *Cor. vi.* And the like at first were granted by Christian Princes: But when this Privilege came to be abused, yea even so far as that hence Crimes were committed against Princes themselves, there was Reason for Princes to resume their Original Rights, even for their own Security. And this is it which is to be understood (as in Queen *Elizabeth's* Explication of the Oath) by *Spiritual Causes*, and not Magistrates intermeddling in Matters of *Faith*, or giving Commissions to inflict *Spiritual Censures*, or a Power of *Depriving Bishops* of their *Spiritual Power*.

THOSE Injunctions are still in Force, by virtue of that Power, wherewith, by Law, the Prince, without the States, is invested: And the Oath to be taken in the Sense there given, till another

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Sense

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Sense is, by the same Authority, substituted in the room of it; especially, when this is the Sense of our *Church* itself, *Article 37.* and given by an *Act* of Parliament, 5 *Eliz.* 1. besides that of our Divines since that Time. The *second Canon* of the Year 1603, must be explained by *Article 37.* As for *Practices* of our Princes, especially when they proceeded from present Exigencies, these are no Arguments of the Sense of the Supremacy as intended by the Legislators. The Suspension of the Bishop of *London* in King *James II.*'s Time is considered, and the Opinion of Lawyers against it. Also the Actings of *Lay-Civilians* in Spiritual Courts: Where *Excommunications* are pronounced by *Presbyters*: And the Sentence of the *Deprivation* of Ministers by the Bishop himself. These shew not that the King, tho' a *Lay-Man*, is the Fountain of Spiritual Power.

THE next Thing consider'd, is the *Deprivation* of the last *Popish Bishops*, on which the present Protestant Succession depends; the Validity of whose Deprivations we must defend, if we'll defend the Right of the Deprived Bishops to their Sees. If that Deprivation was null, our Bishops had no Right to their Sees.

As for *Bonner*, &c. who took out Royal Commissions for their Spiritual Power, by the same Power they might be deprived: But this is not the present Case. The *first Protestant* Bishops in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Days, appear not in the Catalogue of them that took out Commissions in *Henry VIII.*'s Time.

BUT

BUT farther, all the *Popish* Bishops were of another Communion. They were not of the *Protestant* Communion before, and therefore not after, their Deprivation; and thence could not challenge any *Duty* as owing to them from *Protestants*, with regard to *Conscience*. Their Sees were vacant before in point of *Conscience*, and so needed no other Deprivation but by the Magistrate to make a Legal Vacancy, to be deprived of their Temporalties, to make room for *Protestants*. Of old, the *Catholicks*, when a Bishop died, chose another, notwithstanding there were *Novatian* or *Heretical* Bishops in that See. This shewn with respect to the *Donatists* and *Arians*. But had the *Popish* Bishops had any Title, it could have lasted only during their own Lives, who were the Persons injured; after that their Successors had a good Title, they having then no Rival. Their Consecrations by true Bishops, tho' in the Time of Schism *Nullities*, recovered their Validity, when the Incapacity was removed. Farther, had the Title of the *Popish* Bishops been good, their Discontinuance of a *Succession* had spoiled it. Possession gives a Right, where there is no Rival that hath a better Right. 'Tis generally owned in respect to *Civil* Societies, in that otherwise Controversies could have no End, and is no less reasonable in *Spiritual*. 'Twas owned in the *Donatist* Controversy, that *Personal* Crimes could not involve Posterity in the same Guilt, when there was no Injury thereby committed. This is largely handled with respect to the *Luciferians*. Unavoidable Failures are shewn to be

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no Ground for a Separation, nor for making Nullities of what was done in Times of Schism.

As for what might be objected against some of the Protestant Bishops, that they had lost their *better Title* by having received *Lay-Commissions*: This cannot be justly objected, (tho' it cuts off their Pretence against invalidating Lay-Deprivations) for if they received their *Consecrations* before their *Patents*, this last was no Renouncing of the Authority they received from CHRIST: If their *Patents* first, they were not obliged to believe that their *Consecrations* gave them not the Spiritual Power; especially when it was then the received Opinion, that that Power was derived from CHRIST: And it might make the Bishops generally to design the Giving and Receiving the same Power in their *Consecrations*, which had been given and received formerly: And consequently, nothing could hinder those Bishops from receiving it. [The Interests of the Church are to be preferred, when those and Civil Interests come in Competition.] They that took out those *Commissions* might intend no more, but that they held their *Temporalties* at the King's Pleasure, to which he had a Right. Besides, after the Patent was given, the Magistrate himself took Care to recommend such to Bishops to be consecrated; which implied, that they thought they could not be *valid* Bishops without such a Consecration, (when withall no Profession of the contrary was exacted of them that received this Consecration) and that the Consecrators were empower'd to *give*, and the Consecrated to receive

ceive the same Power from CHRIST, as had been usually convey'd by the same Ministry.

HENCE those first Consecrations might derive such a Title to our present Fathers, as not to be deprivable at the Pleasure of the Civil Magistrate.

THIS Subject I'll conclude with what Mr. Dodwell says in the Conclusion of his second Letter to the Bishop of Sarum. "Methinks it is strange, that our defending your common Spiritual Rights, among the rest, that of your Claim to our Duty to you, against Lay-Deprivations, should ever be displeasing to you: And give me leave to add, to any true Sons of the Church of England, and much less to any Fathers of that Church,

C H A P. XXIV.

A Parænesis to Foreigners concerning the late English Schism.



R. Dodwell having vindicated the Deprived Bishops in those Tracts which he wrote in *English*, was perswaded by his Friends to write something to the same Purpose in *Latin*. Hence, *An. Dom. 1704*, he wrote his *Parænesis to Foreigners concerning the late English Schism*; wherein he asserts the ancient Rights of Bishops, also their *Independency*

on the Civil Magistrate; and recommends the Asserting thereof both to the *Reformed* and *Po-pish* Bishops, and other Governors of Churches.

(a) HERE having premised that this is of universal Concernment, that *our* Case may become *theirs*: He shews that the *Breach* among us is not to be imputed to the *Deprived* Bishops, or those that adher'd to 'em, who never separated from the publick Assemblies on account of the Defection of others from the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience*, nor of the scandalous *Petitions*, when not made Conditions of Communion, nor of our *Sufferings*, &c. till a Senate of *Laicks* had decreed the *Deprivation* of *Bishops* who refused to take the *New Oaths*. The Magistrate might deprive them of their *Temporalties*, but had no Authority to take from 'em that *Spiritual* Power they received from CHRIST Himself, which He bestow'd on them, that His Church, maugre the Magistrate, might be preserved *safe*, even in Times of *Persecution*. Yet *our* Bishops were removed from the Care of Souls committed to them, and *others* substituted in their room, when their *Sees* were *not vacated* by any that had Power to do it; and hence the *Subjects* of these wrongfully Deprived Bishops durst not in Conscience forsake their Communion, and join with their Rivals.

IN order to judge of the Justice of our Practice, an *Appeal* is made to the *Doctrine* and *Practice* of the truly *Primitive Church*, which is

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shewn

shewn cannot reasonably be refused. Here the *Primitive Church* is considered as it was at first under the Bishop of *Jerusalem*. For as among the *Jews* there were *Ἀρχιερεῖς* High-Priests, and such as were of the *Kindred* of the High-Priest, who were interested in the Government, and withall the High-Priest, who was the *supreme* Governor over all the *Jewish* Synagogues; so there were the *Twelve Apostles*, in the First Church; and withall, among these, the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, who was invested with a *Supremacy* over all Christian Churches. Hence *S. James* had a *Pontifical Plate* on his Forehead, (according to *Epiphanius*) answerable to the Breast-Plate of the *Jewish* High-Priest: Tho' herein they differed, that the *Jewish* High-Priest was of the Stock of *Aaron*, the Bishop of *Jerusalem* of our Saviour's Kindred; which therefore is preferred before the other, *Hebr. vii.* in that this High-Priesthood of the *Λόγος* is *Eternal*, of which the other was only a *Type*, and hence of less Value: In which those that succeeded Him the great High-Priest, styled not themselves His *Colleagues*, (as the *Jewish* Priests might) but His *Apostles* or *Servants*; which notwithstanding, they were truly *Priests*. Those *Apostles* that were of our Saviour's *Kindred*, have the Pre-eminence in the New Testament. Possibly hence *S. Peter* and *S. John* call themselves only *Presbyters*.

BESIDES that Superior, the Church of *Jerusalem* had an Inferior College, that of *Presbyters*, answerable to that of the *Jews*, the *Priestly* Family having, as other *Tribes*, their *Rosh Avoth*, the First-born, who were their *Elders*. These

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were Twenty four, *Rev. iv. 4.* From this Constitution at *Jerusalem*, the like was derived to other Churches afterwards. From the Subordination of all other *Jewish* Synagogues in the World to their Clergy at *Jerusalem*, the like obtained among Christians, that all other *Christian* Churches were subject to the Church of *Jerusalem*, as their great *Metropolis*, even that of *Rome* itself, as so many *Colonies* of that Church: That was the *Stock* into which the other were *ingrafted*. Hence at that Time the *Bishop* of *Jerusalem* was the *Principle of Unity*, by whom, the *Apostles*, and the *Itinerants* whom they ordained, the whole Discipline of the Christian Church was exercised; tho' by Degrees this Power came to be derived to the Governors of other Churches, as to the *Angels* of the *Apocalyptick* Churches. *S. Clement* declares, that the Authority of the *Presbyters* at *Corinth* was derived from the *Apostles*, or from those *extraordinary* Persons (*ἐλλόγιστοι*) who were commissioned by them; none of the *Presbyters* having any Power to ordain any into the room of such *Presbyters* that died, but the *Apostles*, or these *extraordinary* Ministers, their *Legates*. As nothing was, or could be done before, in the Discipline exercised on the *Incestuous* Person in the Church of *Corinth*, but what was exercised by *S. Paul* himself. [*S. John* did manage the Affairs of the Churches of *Asia*, as *Clemens Alexandrinus* asserts, where ἀρμόσαι is shewn to signify this, particularly from the Office of ἀμωσις among the *Spartans*.] CHRIST Himself was then the *Principle of Unity* to the Church, represented by the *Bishop* of *Jerusalem*, the *Mother* of all
other

other Churches. This is made out by what the Ancients speak, particularly *Hegefippus*. The Church continued a Virgin till *Trajan's* Time, in that during that Time *Hereticks* durst not openly appear, because of the Authority of the *Apostles*, which was of the Church of *Jerusalem*, (at least of *Pella*, when forced thither) which other Churches esteemed themselves obliged to submit to, and to be determin'd by, whatever *Decrees* were issued from thence against any *Heresy*. Hence proceeded the great Care that a *Bishop* should be chosen of that Church; that *S. James*, not *S. Peter*, is styled, in the *Recognitions*, *Bishop of Bishops*, according to the Style used in the *East*: And besides other Things, that *S. James's Epistle* is placed the first among the *Catholick Epistles* in the *New Testament*, [where the Reason is given of the Title *Catholick*].

MR. Dodwell inferrs, that when the whole Power of Coercion over the *Catholick Church* resided in the *Bishop of Jerusalem*, during the whole Time in which the *New Testament* was written, 'tis unreasonable to expect in the *New Testament* the Settlement of *Bishops* over other Churches. Withall, that there is no Ground to imagine that a Form of Church-Government should be delivered in the *Canon of Scripture*; and how God did gradually reveal his Will to the *Apostles*, as the Church's Exigencies made it requisite. That we have as great a Certainty, if not a greater, of the Settlement of *Bishops* to govern Churches, as of the *Canon of Scripture* itself, and what Books we are to receive as such, viz. the *Tradition* of the Universal Church, even in

in the *second Century*; the *Government* of the Church being *plain* and evident to all.

HERE a Disquisition is made how long this Power of the Church of *Jerusalem* continued. Here is shewn at what Time *Simeon*, the Son of *Cleophas*, the last Bishop of *Jerusalem* of CHRIST's Kindred, suffered Martyrdom; as also those of the Race of *David*; probably *An. Dom.* 104, or 105, by several Circumstances at that Time: The Enemies of Christianity designing, by the Overthrow of *that Chief Church*, the Ruin of *all other Christian Churches*: But it fell out otherwise, in that from that Time *each* particular Church had its *particular* Bishop, (who was only before the *πρωτονάθερος*) invested with full Power of Governing: The *Gentiles* (as in other Cases the *younger* Brother being preferred before the *elder*) enjoying greater Privileges than the *Jews*, after, not only the Destruction of our *Saviour's Kindred*, but also *Adrian's* Banishment of all *Jews* from *Jerusalem*, new named *Ælia*: And hereby came the Removal of the *Primacy* from that City, and each Church enjoying it within itself, none being made *subordinate* to any other Church. This was agreeable to the Mind of CHRIST and His *Apostles*, in that it was never *opposed* by such as were the *Scholars* of CHRIST and His *Apostles*, who were then alive, and enjoyed extraordinary Gifts of *Prophecy* and *Working Miracles*, and would have opposed it, if it had been contrary to the Will of CHRIST; especially, when the earliest Writers of the next Age testify the *universal Settlement* of *Bishops* in Churches founded by the *Apostles*, and the constant

stant Succession of Bishops therein till their own Time. [Such were *Irenæus* and *Tertullian*.] Which Bishops, tho' they might not execute the whole Power of Bishops during the Continuance of the Supremacy of the Church of *Jerusalem*; yet might be by the *Apostles* themselves, as *Joshua* was by *Moses*, warranted to do it, after their Decease.

HERE Mr. *Dodwell* considering, that after the Dissolution of the Church of *Jerusalem*, *Irenæus* and his Master *Polycarp*, and also *Papias*, had in *Asia* received Traditions from some of the *Apostles*, and from such as had conversed with several of the *Apostles*; he concludes, that upon the Dispersion, many of these resorted into *Asia*, and particularly to *Ephesus*: That when the *Apostle* S. *John*, as well as the *Presbyter* of that Name, were buried at *Ephesus*, and that the *Apostle* S. *John* had from thence visited the *Proconsular Asia*, is said to wear a *πέταλον*, and in a peculiar Manner is by *Polycrates* styled *ἱερεὺς*; and having among the last Surviving *Apostles* had a Precedency, after the Extinction of our Saviour's Kindred, fixed his Station at *Ephesus*; whither also the other *Apostles* resorted, and became a College under the Presidency of S. *John*: That when the *Ebionites* resorted thither, whom it concerned them to oppose, and that *Cerinthus* (probably the same with *Ebion*) was there condemned by S. *John*, (as *Irenæus*, who lived so near that Time, testifies): When S. *John* (whose Epistle opposes that Heretick, 1 *Joh.* iv. 3. and v. 1, 5.) wrote his Gospel there, to which the *Apostles* give their Testimony: For so S. *Joh.* xxi. 24. is to be understood,

derstood, as spoken in their Person, to whose Office it appertained to give Testimony of what was done by CHRIST. [Here an Account is given why S. John concealed his Name to his Writings.] Hence Mr. Dodwell concludes, that the Primacy of the Church of Jerusalem, which ended there at the Death of Simeon Son of Cleophas, was translated to Ephesus. After Jerusalem came to be inhabited by Gentiles, and to have a Gentile for its Bishop, and was new-named *Ælia*: Henceforth it enjoyed not its former Privileges, nor followed the Custom used before there, in respect to the Time of keeping Easter. [Here is shewn when the Apostles ceased to comply with Jewish Customs.] When the Apostles were settled at Ephesus, they placed Bishops with the full Episcopal Power over particular Churches; made Polycarp Bishop of Smyrna, as Irenæus, who knew him, testifies. S. John did constitute Bishops over several Churches: Besides other Testimonies.

HERE is shewn how the Bishops, constituted by the Apostles, had full Power conveyed to 'em, and this to be transmitted to future Ages; yet it did not exempt them from Subjection to the Apostles themselves whilst alive, they being the Archetypal Church, of which the Λόγος was the Invisible Bishop.

HERE both the Time of the Settlement of Episcopacy, and of the Code of the Gospels, is considered: This latter being done by S. John's Approbation of the three other Gospels, and his Writing his own at the Request of the Bishops of Asia, at which some of the Apostles were present.

sent. This *Canon* of the Gospels was carried into *India*, in the Expedition made about this Time thither to propagate Christianity: And also was laid up in the *Archives* of the Church, as is proved by a Passage of *Ignatius*, in *Ep. ad Philad.* N. 8. Here the Word *πρόκειται* is shewn to denote being deposited in some Place, as publick *Edicts* were. And here *Episcopacy* is shewn to be ancients than the complete *Canon* of the *New Testament*; and to be sure before the Martyrdom of *S. Ignatius*, who by all is acknowledged to have suffered under *Trajan*. He being a *Roman Citizen*, suffer'd by the Emperor's own Decree, and probably when the Emperor was at *Antioch*, where *Ignatius* was Bishop, and hence in some Expedition of his into the *East*, either *An. Dom.* 112, or 114. This must be after the Dissolution of the Church at *Jerusalem*, otherwise he would have recommended the Church of *Antioch* to its Care, as being so near, and of so great *Authority*: And withall, hence proceeded *Ignatius's* Zeal in recommending the *Communion* of Bishops, as the best *Preservative* against *Hereticks*, having but newly had its full Establishment in the Church. He uses many Expressions which have a Respect to that Time; as those that intimate the Colleges of *Presbyters* under the Bishop, in his own Time, were invested with the same Power, which that at *Jerusalem*, under the Apostles, enjoyed: That alludes to the Union maintained of old betwixt all other *Jews*, and the *Temple* and *Altar* of *Jerusalem*, and that among the *Christians* to the Church of *Jerusalem* under the Apostles; and that

that the same *Union* was, when he wrote, to be maintained with the Bishop and his Presbyters.

At first, the Names of *Episcopus* and *Presbyter* were used promiscuously; but betwixt the Time of the Death of *Simeon* Son of *Cleophas*, and that of *Ignatius*, *Episcopus* was appropriated to him who had the *Supreme* Power in a Church, and *Presbyter* to those Ministers who were of an inferior Order; *Ignatius* every where distinguishing them. This could not happen, as the *Presbyterians* assert, through the Ambition of the *πρωτονάθεδος*, then injuriously claiming this Power; in that 'tis impossible this could be so *universal*, in a Time when *Discipline* flourished among *Christians*, and that all should so patiently submit to the *Bishop*, if he had no *Right* to their Submission. This *Right* was in the Church of *Jerusalem* before, but at this Time, that Church ending, the whole Power was devolved upon the *πρωτονάθεδος* of each Church; and then with the *Power*, 'tis no wonder that he had a *new* Name appropriated to him. This Name was given with the greatest Reason to them, not on account of the *Civil* Offices signified by *ἐπισκοπή*, among *Athenians*, *Macedonians*, or *Romans*; but as it was used either for the Care of their *tutelar* Deities, or the universal *Providence* of God over the World; (so used by *Plutarch* and *Philo*.) And from thence ascribed to *Priests*, *Augurs*, and such as represented *Deities*; especially to the *Pontifex Maximus*, whose Office was both to *teach*, and to *preside* over the *Vestals*, and all other inferior sacerdotal Officers; and, among the *Jews*, was used to denote their *High-Priest* by *Philo*, and thence

thence used to signify the *Christian Clergy*. The Use of the Word was, in the first place, ascribed to GOD, as the *Principle* of the *mystical Unity*; this is shewn from *Ignatius*, and the *Holy Scriptures*; both the *Father* and the *Son* being styled *Episcopi*: And thus styled, to conciliate the great Respect to the *Apostles*, and the *Bishops* their Successors; in that GOD would confirm what they act in His *Name*, and by His *Commission* here on Earth. [Here *Matth. xvi. 19.* is explained; and what is signified by *δέσις* and *λύσις*.] And that, by giving the *Keys* to *S. Peter*, CHRIST, the *invisible Bishop*, invested each *visible Bishop* with the Power of *Binding* and *Loosing*. Also, to intimate, that GOD would *vindicate* the Injuries done against the *Bishops*, as being rebellious against *Himself*, when committed against His Representatives. This appeared, *Numb. xvi.* in GOD's punishing the Opposers of *Aaron's Priesthood*: And 'twas received among the *Heathen*.

THE Church being GOD's *Household*, and therein the *Poor*, in a special manner, they all came under GOD's Care, and thereby under the *Apostles*, as appears from *Acts vi. 2.* and *iv. 37.* and *v. 2.* And hence, as the *Widows*, and others in Want, fell under *their* immediate Inspection at *Jerusalem*; so likewise in other Churches, under the Care of the *Presbyters* of those Churches, were the *Strangers*, and the *Needy* of all sorts, and by these maintained out of the *Publick Stock* of the Church. Hence the Name of *Episcopi* was not improperly given at that Time to these *Presbyters*. On which Reason, called *πρεσβύτες*, 1 *Tim. v. 17.* Where *πρεσβυτάειναι* is shewn to denote taking

king Care of the Indigent. From this, some of them were styled the *Apostles* of those *Churches*, whose Office seems to be, to gather *Alms* in Places distant from *Jerusalem*, and to relieve such as travelled, to promote *Christianity*; who are called, 1 *Pet.* v. 2, 3. by *S. Peter*, his *Fellow-Presbyters*; and 'tis shewn, that what he exhorts them to, has chiefly a respect to giving of *Alms*. So doth *Acts* xx. 35. Ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι ἀσθενούντων, and some some other Expressions there. The same Persons are called *Presbyteri* and *Episcopi*, to whom the Advice given to them, 1 *Tim.* iii. has a great Respect. Those that laboured in *Word*, did it not so much as *Presbyters*, but as *Employers* of the *spiritual Gifts* entrusted to 'em, (as the *Scribes* among the *Jews*) who, on that Reason, had a double Proportion out of the *Church's* Stock. So τιμὴ is shewn to be understood. When the *Money* itself was dedicated to *God*, and the *Persons* maintained by it, under His immediate *Patronage*, the *Care* about this is properly termed ἐπισκοπή. But the Appropriation of this afterwards to the πρωτοκάθεδος, as the *Principle of Unity*, hath regard to the *Head of Unity*, the *Father* and the *Son*; as the former, the *Consecration of Things* and *Persons* to the *Holy Ghost*. This seems at first to be appropriated to the *Bishop of Jerusalem*, whilst the *Primacy* was in him, and after to the *Bishops of other Churches*; and this to establish their *Authority* by this new Appellation of *Episcopus*, which intimated, that the *Affronts* offered to him redounded on the *Two sacred Persons* of the *Trinity*, the *Father*, and the *Son*; and to make himself afraid of any *Offence*, considering

ing the *Sacredness* of his Office. Here is shewn, how the *Unity* of particular *Churches* with each other, is preserved; in that, whomsoever one Bishop admits into the *Church*, CHRIST the *invisible Bishop* owns as its Member, and, consequently, all other Bishops ought to own as such: And on the same Reason, whom *one* Bishop *excludes* from his Communion, ought to be excluded by all the rest. [This manifests, how much the *Church's Rights* transcend those of earthly *Princes*.] Here the Sense is given of Ἐκκλησία καθολικὴ, the *Catholic Church*, in *Ignatius ad Smyrn.* n. 8. where we find the *first* Use of that Expression, viz. the *Polity* of the heavenly *Jerusalem* under the *Presidency* of the Λόγος. [Here *Heb.* xii. 2. -- is explained.] That is the *Archetypal Church*. Those particular *Churches*, that preserve an *Union* with this *celestial Mount Sion*, may thence be styled *Catholic*, and have a Right to the *Rewards* of the *Archetypal Church*; which *Hereticks* and *Schismatics*, who divide from its Communion, have no ground to hope for, as being not of that *Body* to which, by way of Covenant, those Promises were made; being not by Faith of the *Seed* of the *Patriarchs*, to whom the Promises were given, and who now inherit them in the heavenly *Jerusalem*, as an *Earnest* that the whole *Body* shall enjoy them; nor are on the *Foundation* of the *Apostles*. [The *Epistles* are called *Catholic*, because they are the Writings of the *Apostles*, and of the *Archetypal Church*.] They are of *one Body* with the *Apostles*, who preserve the Government left by the *Apostles* inviolate in an *Hereditary Succession*, not those that have overthrown

it. There is but *One Church*, tho' the Members are never so far distant from each other, in that all the Members have a *Right* to the *Privileges* thereof; (as *they* were *Romans*, that had a *Right* to the *Privileges* of that *City*.) And they are thus, as they are *Citizens* of the heavenly *Jerusalem*; and so each *Church* has a *Right* to *Communion* with all other *Churches*, in that none can refuse them who are Members of the *Archetypal Church*, whom *CHRIST* the *invisible Bishop* admits as such by His Substitute the *visible Bishop*. This gives us an Account of that Saying of *S. Cyprian* of *one Episcopate*, in that all *Bishops* are the *Deputies* of *CHRIST* the supreme *Bishop*, who acts by them as His *Proctors*; tho' each of them has his *several Part* assigned to him, yet each has a *Right* to admit into *Communion* with the *Whole Church* of *CHRIST*.

BISHOPS were *Collegium*, of which *Presbyters* were never styled *Collegæ*. These were the *Principles* of *Unity*, wrote *Communicatory Letters*, met in *Councils*, and had their *proper Rights*, that could not be communicated to *Presbyters*. Those, in *S. Cyprian's Time*, were accounted *Rebels*, not that opposed the *Presbyters*, but the *Bishop*, who was *Unicus Sacerdos*. This is shewn, naturally to result from the *Bishop's* being the *Principle of Unity*; in that, by being in *Union* with the *Bishop*, *Christians* are united to *CHRIST* the *invisible Bishop*. The *Legislative Power* in the *Bishop*.

THIS shewn to be a proper Means to unite the *Jewish* and *Gentile Christians*, the old and new *Peculium*, by their becoming united to the *Bishop*;

Bishop; at first to the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, and then to Bishops in every other *Church* where-ever: As likewise the preserving of Unity among *particular Churches*, and this in Times of *Persecution*, whilst each Bishop confirmed what others acted: [How much the Restauration of the same is now to be wished for.] Then is shewn, how Bishops were all of *equal* Authority; each *Supreme* in his own *Diocese*; that what *Canons* each made, obliged none of other *Dio-ceses*; that tho' they differed in what each decreed, yet this made no Discord among Bishops; that when there came to be a *Subordination* among Bishops, (which 'tis probable, was not till the Time of *Constantine*) this was effected by mutual *Compacts* among themselves. Bishops had Precedency according to the *Time* of their *Consecration*. The First-consecrated *presided* in Synods as *Metropolitans*. When a Bishop died, the Power devolved not on the *Presbyters*; but the *Bishops of the Province* met, chose and consecrated one in the room of the Deceased: This, by *S. Cyprian*, is made a *Divine* and *Apostolick Tradition*. Cypr. Ep. 67.

THE Parity among Bishops hindred not their *disowning* any of their Collegues from being such, who had *outed himself* by his *Crimes*; (such was *Idolatry*, *Heresy*, and *Schism*:) And, when the Crime was proved, their putting another in his room. This manifests no Superiority among Bishops, in that we find not that they *deposed* their Collegues, none were removed for *Immoralities*, or *Male-Administration*. *Victor* and *Stephanus* were reprehended by the best of their

own Time, when they proceeded to *excommunicate* other Bishops. The Subordination among Bishops continues so long, and no longer, than the *Advantage*, propounded by the Compacts in that Subordination, continues : In that the Bishops, that granted it, could not *absolutely* give away the Rights committed to them, of which they were only *Trustees*. When this was done, it was of itself *invalid*, unless with a Prospect of great Advantage. When that Advantage ceases, the *Rights* return to their former State, particularly the *Independency* of each Church. Hence the Privileges granted to the Church of *Rome*, on Account of the *Dignity* of the *City*, as the *Metropolis* of the *Empire*, now cease. What is argued from *S. Peter's* Primacy, is shewn to be groundless. If any Primacy continued, it ought to be that of the Church of *Jerusalem*. Farther, it appears not that each Church devolved their Rights on *Synods*. Majority of Suffrages obliged not Bishops that *dissented*, much less could it oblige such as were *absent* from the Synod. If the *Consent* of particular Churches be urged for the Obligation of synodal Decrees, then it depends on their *own Consent*, not that of *others*, and hence may afterwards be revoked by them. In the first Times there were no *General*, but only *Provincial* Councils, assembled twice in a Year for Advice-sake. In these, Controversies betwixt *Bishops* were decided, but no *Appeals* about Matters done in a particular Diocese, that had no Connection with that of other Dioceses.

Two Things are considered, as of the highest Moment. (1.) The Government of the Church
by

by *Bishops*. (2.) Its *Independency* on the State. As for the First, its Author was not *Men*, but *GOD*: 'Tis that, by Union with which, we partake of the Benefits of the *mystical* Unity with *GOD*, and consequently that, which it lies not in the Power of *Men* to abrogate. 'Tis that, without which Concord and Correspondence cannot be maintained with foreign Churches. The Reduction hereof is a Means to restore Primitive *Faith*, *Piety*, and *Charity*. Here Mr. *Dodwell* earnestly requests the Reformed Churches to restore *Episcopacy*; shews, how much the *Rejection* of this hindered the Progress of the *Reformation*, which many wished for, had it been done by Persons who had *Authority* to do it; that when done otherwise, it could not be known where a Stop would be made, especially by them who made a Pretence to an extraordinary *Call*, which would in a little time dissolve the *Political Body* of *CHRIST's Church*. When the Government of *Bishops* was extirpated, which had been *universally* entertained in all Churches from the Days of the Apostles, and this by *Violence*; there could be no End of *Innovations*, if this was tolerated. By this they *alienated* the Minds of *Bishops* from them, whose business it was to *Reform*, and especially those of *Germany*, who were *secular Princes*, as well as *Bishops*. Their *Sacrileges*, in other things too much connived at, especially the *Extirpation* of *Bishops*, made *GOD*, who was their Defender, Enemy to these Practices, and rendered the Work of *Reformation* unprosperous. Here Mr. *Dodwell* requests the *Protestant Churches* to remove those Scandals, to restore

Bishops, whose proper Work it is to Reform, and hereby to make GOD and CHRIST their *Friend*, instead of a *Revenger*, and so remove that which was the great Hindrance of Reformation, at least of its Progress. But in this Case the *Romanists* have no grounds to triumph over us, in that tho' they have *Bishops*, yet they have destroyed the *Rights* of *Bishops*, whilst they divest them of the Right of being *Principles of Unity*, and invest the *Pope* therewith. They act contrary to what the Primitive Church acted, who would never own any *Bishop of Bishops*, but owned each *Bishop* to be immediately CHRIST's Substitute: They blamed the *Bishops* of *Rome* themselves, when they imposed any thing else on foreign *Bishops*, as *Conditions* of their Communion, besides the Profession of the same *Faith*, and Commerce by communicatory (*formata*) Letters: The *African* Fathers (after *Cyprian's* Time) condemned foreign Appeals to *Rome*. *S. Cyprian* pleads *S. Peter's* Primacy for his own acting against his own Schismatics. It was not *Rome*, but *Jerusalem*, where the *Bishop* had a sort of Presidency among the *Apostles*, which *S. Peter* never had at *Rome*. The *Sacerdotal Unity*, that *S. Cyprian* owns the *Africans* had with *Rome*, proceeded only from their being converted by Persons sent from thence; but always Appeals about any *Bishop's* Acts to other *Bishops*, nay, to *Synods*, was condemned by the *Africans*. Even *S. Cyprian*, who was *Primate* over the *African* Provinces, would not challenge Power over any of his *Colleagues*. The *Pope's* Primacy is shewn, not to be an Article of the *Catholick Faith*, in
that

that 'tis not founded on any (so much as *unwritten*) *Tradition* of the *Apostles*: Neither can pretended *Revelations*, or *Miracles* of After-Ages, make it such, the *Catholick Faith* being that which was once delivered to the *Saints*.

THEN is shewn, how uncertain the *Unity* and *Faith* of Christians would be, if it depended on the *Bishop* of any one Church as the *Head* of the rest. If the Church of *Jerusalem* did, so may that of *Rome* fail. *Rome* may be subjected to an *Infidel*, or a Christian of another Communion, who forbids Access to the Bishop thereof: How then can *Unity* be maintained with him, when the *Body* becomes divided from the *Head*?

AND farther, 'tis shewn, how much more beneficial it is to the publick Good of the Church, that the *Apostolick Church* at *Jerusalem* devolved its Authority on the *Bishop* of each Church, than the granting of this Supreme Power to the *Bishop* of some one Church would have been.

(2.) Mr. *Dodwell* proceeds to prove the Bishops *Independency*, in respect to *Spirituals*, on the *secular Power*. In the first Times, Bishops had their particular *Districts*, without the Consent of the *Magistrate*, nay, against the *Laws* against *Hæresie*, &c. (a) *Christians* thought themselves obliged to be subject to the *Bishop*, notwithstanding the *Magistrate's* Opposition; in that the *Bishop's* Power was given him by God, and He could grant them *Benefits* which the *Magistrate* had no Power to conferr. He cannot admit Persons into the *celestial Catholick Church*; neither

(a) *Constantine* found the Church in Possession of these Rights.

has the Lord, the *invisible Bishop*, made him His Substitute, or undertaken for him, that whatever he does on *Earth* in His Name, shall be ratified in *Heaven*; or oblige other *Churches* to confirm what he has done in his own Jurisdiction; which *Bishops* can do in respect to their own *Acts*. *Saul* and *Uzziah* felt God's Indignation, when they acted what belonged to the Priestly Office. If (as *S. Cyprian* argues) *Bishops* could not be *Judges* over their *Colleagues*, in Causes wherein God had made them His Substitutes, much less could *Magistrates* be so. *Theodosius* was not admitted by *S. Ambrose* into the *Cancelli* of the *Priests*, because *Purpura non facit Sacerdotem*. How much *Priesthood* is preferable to the *Magistracy*, besides the Opinions of the ancient *Jews*, and others, is evident from the Nature of the Thing, in that this concerns the *Souls* of Men; the *Bishops Power* opens and shuts *Heaven*; is of larger Extent than that of earthly *Monarchs*, in that their *Baptisms* give a Right to Communion in all *Churches* throughout the World. When, therefore, secular *Magistrates* have no Power to bestow *spiritual Rights*, they cannot *conferr*, or *deprive Bishops* of them; and whatever they do of this Kind, cannot oblige *CHRIST* to ratify it in *Heaven*, and hence cannot oblige the *Consciences* of such Subjects of these *Bishops* to desert them, whom the *invisible Bishop* owns; much less to own those *Altars* that are erected against their *Altars*.

NEXT, (after the Cause of the *Lessening* the Rights of the *Clergy*, and the *Advancement* of those of secular *Princes*, is shewn, to come from
our

our first Reformers, who found *these* to be the *Friends*, and the *Clergy* the greatest Enemies to the Reformation, and hence gave too much to *Princes*, and lessened the due *Rights* of the *Clergy*, not foreseeing the ill Consequents hereof) Mr. Dodwell proceeds to caution the *Reformed* not to put too much Confidence in *Princes*, and the *Romanists* not to glory in what seems here to favour their Cause, in that there's no confiding in great and absolute *Monarchs*. And here the Instance of this present *French King's* Actings is considered, who, tho' a *Persecutor* of Protestants, has been severe against *Bishops* who asserted their *Episcopal Rights*; who has procured his *Clergy* first to *determine* Propositions contrary to the *Pope's Infallibility*, and his being the *ultimate Judge* of Controversies; and then caused them to *revoke* them. If *false*, why did they *decree* them? if *true*, why did they *recant* them? Neither could the *Clergy* alter their Judgment in these things, meerly because the *King* would have them pass another Decree about them.

WHEN the *Church* is *one Body*, the *Sacraments* are the *Ligaments* by which this Body is united; if *these* are *dissolved*, the *Church* itself must thence come to be dissolved; and this must happen, if it be granted, that the *Prince* has Power of *depriving Bishops* of their *spiritual Rights*; which when it happens, we have none on *Earth* to whom we can be united, and thence participate of the *Benefits* derivable from the *invisible Bishop*. The Consequences of which are the *Hurt* of our *Souls*, the *Overthrow* of *Christian Faith, Piety, and Discipline*. Here is shewn, how
much

much those *Princes* are *Enemies* to themselves, who force any Religion on their Subjects; in that thereby they dissolve the Tye of *Oaths*, and *Religion*, which are *Princes* greatest *Security*. And then, how much 'tis the Concern of all pious Christians, of *Protestants*, (not excluding *Romanists*) to restore *Bishops*, together with their just *Rights*: Hereby a general *Commerce* might be maintained by *literæ formatæ*, (which nothing could hinder but Dissent in *Fundamentals*) which might procure a great Progress of the *Reformation*, a thing too little minded by *Laicks*. Then particular Application is made to moderate *Romanists*, to assert the *Rights* of *Bishops*; and this as the Means of *Concord* among Christians. This would put an End to the *Pope's Supremacy*. If 'tis founded on *humane* Constitution, then 'twill end when the Reason of the Constitution ceases, and each Bishop assumes his Primitive Rights. This is consonant to their Judgment, who assert the *Gallican Liberties*, and, by consequence, those of other *Provincial* and *National Churches*. Matters of *Faith* cannot obstruct this Concord, in that none are *such*, but what are delivered by the *Apostles*; not those taken up in *later Ages*, which the Defenders render *suspicious*, when they find it necessary to defend them by *new Revelations* and *Miracles*. If they were delivered by the *Apostles*, the *Miracles* wrought by *them* were sufficient to confirm them, neither would they need the Declaration of the *present Church*. *Infallibility* (a Word invented by the School-Men) would be of no Service to them, in that 'tis by themselves only claimed to be given to the *Catholick Church*.

Take

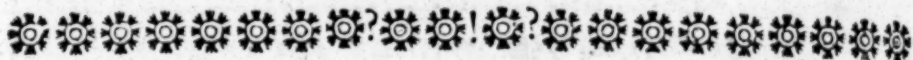
Take this Pretence from the Pope, as Principle of *Unity*, the *Greeks* have as good a Right to it as themselves, whom yet they accuse as *erroneous*.

THE *Romanists* are here persuaded to assert their *Episcopal Rights*, not only against the Pope, but also against *Princes* who violate them, tho' they may patronize their Rights against the Pope's (b) *Usurpations*, it being more *decorous* to submit to *Usurpations* exercised by *Ecclesiasticks* than by *Seculars*; the *first*, when passing their Bounds, have ground to pretend to some Right, the *other* none. This less hurtful to the *Church*, and to *Religion* itself.

WHEN these things have so great a Tendency to promote, and to secure *Unity* betwixt *Churches*, and to preserve the *Church* in Time of *Persecution*, even then, when the Magistrate is become an Enemy to the *Church*; 'tis evident, of how great a Concernment it is; that the *Duties* due to the Rulers of the *Church*, as being of so great Moment, be frequently inculcated, and *early* instilled into the Minds of *Christians*; and to that End inserted into *Catechisms*, being that in which *Christian Faith* and *Practice* are nearly concerned, and to which each *Member* of the *Church* is obliged.

(b) Here Advice is given to *Princes*, who pretend to be Patrons of the *Church's Liberties*, to take care, by what Methods they should approve themselves to be truly such; and the Advantages are shewn that would redound, even to themselves, thereby, and the Mischiefs by their acting otherwise.

MR. Dodwell, a Year or two before his Death, hearing that a learned *German* had answer'd or attacked this his *Paranesis*, was very desirous to see it; and hence employed Booksellers that traded with Foreigners, to procure it for him, but without Success.



C H A P. XXV.

The Friendship betwixt Mr Cherry and Mr Dodwell, with the Character of Mr Cherry. Mr Dodwell's Marriage.



BEFORE I give any farther Account of Mr. *Dodwell's* Works, I must take Notice of the Acquaintance, and thence the entire Friendship, that was about this Time begun betwixt him, and that worthy and accomplished Gentleman Mr. *Francis Cherry*. Here I cannot but lament, that whilst I am writing the Life of his Friend, and that Part of it in which this Friendship was begun, I should have Occasion to take Notice of God's severe Providence in snatching him from us, and to bewail the Loss that his dear Relations, Neighbours, Friends, and particularly myself, have hereby sustained;

sustained; and must be very much troubled that I must begin with his Death, before I recount the Conversation and Studies carried on betwixt him and Mr. *Dodwell*. I might here declare his Love to Learning, and his early Pursuit of it in his youthful Years; his Industry and Probity in the University, which then endeared him to learned Persons, and among others to that good Man Mr. *Penton*, Principal of *Edmund-Hall* in *Oxford*, wherein he was a Student. I have heard him speak with a Concern, that he had not made Improvements answerable to the Advantages he did there, and might have enjoyed afterwards, by which some of his Acquaintance had cultivated themselves: 'Tho' the Reflexion on this created a laudable Emulation in him, and a Care to spend his future Hours to better Advantage. To which purpose he furnished himself with Books, choice Manuscripts, ancient Coins and Medals, and such-like things, which might be serviceable to him in his Studies; and became desirous of the Conversation of learned Men, such as Mr. *Dodwell*, which might promote his Knowledge in useful Learning. I might shew how exemplary he was to other Gentlemen, not only in Industry, but also in Sobriety, Piety, Charity, Hospitality, and Integrity. His Sobriety, in setting due Bounds to his Appetites, in a dissolute Age wherein Intemperance is esteemed no Crime, and in the Command he had over his Passions. His Piety, in his diligent Frequenting the Prayers of the Church, (and I question not but also in Allotting Time for Private Devotions, with which he would not suffer the World to be acquainted) and

and in neglecting no Opportunity of Participating of the Holy Eucharist: In which and Prayers, when he could not communicate in the Publick Assemblies, he joined with Mr. *Dodwell* in procuring one with whom he might do it, without incurring the Guilt of Schism. His *Charity*, expressed in Acts of Kindness and Beneficence, of which I'll give one single Instance, *viz.* his Maintaining Mr. *Thomas Hearne* at School, and for some Years in the University, till he was Master of Arts; which that learned Person will not take ill that I here mention, when he himself, with all Sense of Gratitude, has as publicly owned it. In his Forgiving of Enemies, and making Excuses for 'em, when others taxed 'em (and possibly justly) with Ingratitude, and worse Crimes, if there can be any such. His true *Hospitality*, in making his House a Sanctuary for Persons in Distress, especially for such as suffered for Conscience-sake: Besides his kind Entertainment of others, such as learned Foreigners, of which they have made grateful Acknowledgments in their Letters to himself, and Mr. *Dodwell*. His *Integrity*, by choosing the Preservation of a Good Conscience before the Preferments of the World, which, considering his Merits and Accomplishments, might reasonably have been expected, could he have complied with the Times: (c) Nay, even that, for which he is

(c) *His Motto was accordingly suited, which he wrote in the Title-Page of his Books, Non Civium Ardor prava jumentum. Conscientia mille Testes. By this, as he expressed his present Purposes, so he placed it as a Memento of his Duty, and a Help*

chiefly censured, his not having paid his Father's Debts, which he made his own, detracts not from his Integrity. He judged, that when his Father had left him a good Estate, it became him to see his Debts paid, tho' not obliged by Law to do it; by which he involved himself in Troubles, which he could not suddenly conquer. By this, indeed, he manifested more of the Innocence of the Dove, than of the Wisdom of the Serpent; and by his great Concern herein, shortened his Days.

'Tis enough to mention his Christian Deportment as a Husband, Father, Friend, and other Relations: As also his Courtesy, Affability, Sweetness of Temper, Evenness, and innocent Pleasantness of Conversation, which adorned him as a Gentleman, and render'd his Conversation so acceptable to all Men. But leaving these, I come to that which crowned all his other Vertues, his great *Humility*, which, had he lived, would have stop'd the Publishing of any of his former Character. This, as it appeared all along in his Conversation whilst I had the Happiness of enjoying it, so it did eminently at a Time when he entertained himself with a Prospect of Death. He then, in a Letter to his truly vertuous and worthy Consort, gave her the following Directions; (in a Letter, because her entire affectionate Love render'd her impatient of receiving them otherwise) *viz.* That he would be buried privately; have none invited to his Funeral; be

to secure his Integrity; resolving that nothing should deterr him from his Duty, or cause him to comply with Men, when he thereby offended God, and made Shipwreck of a Good Conscience.

carried

carried to his Grave by four of the pooreſt of her Tenants, aſſigning them a Gratiuity. That he would have no Achievements, Eſcutcheons, or Pall; but would be buried in the Church-yard of *Shottesbrooke*, near the Vault where his Father lieth: (By Word of Mouth lately, near that part of the Chancel where Mr. *Dodwell* lieth, which fell out to be the ſame Place.) He order'd a Brick-work of two or three Foot to be raiſed over him, and a plain black Marble laid upon it, without any Arms, Name, or other Inſcription, but this which followeth:

HIC IACET PECCATORUM MAXIMUS.
ANNO. DOM. MDCC

Leaving the Year to be inſerted, which was 1713. *Septemb. 23. Anno Ætatis XLVIII.* Such humble Thoughts had he of himſelf, whatever Value others had for him, and will retain for his Memory. *Shottesbrooke*, a ſmall Village, is ennobled, and will hereafter be remember'd, as it was the *Habitation*, and is the *Sepulture*, of two ſuch eminent Perſons, as Mr. *Cherry* and Mr. *Dodwell*.

AND now I return to give an Account of the Beginning and Progreſs of the Acquaintance and Friendſhip betwixt theſe two worthy Perſons, and their Proſecution of the ſame Studies: But I muſt here lament my Loſs of Mr. *Cherry*, on whom I depended for this Account, he being moſt able to give it; and only acquaint the Reader with what Mr. *Cherry* told me, as it accidentally fell from him in Diſcourſe. When Mr. *Dodwell* lived at *Cookham*, it was his chief Exerciſe
and

and Diversion to walk to *Maidenhead* to hear News, and the chief of that which he desired, was to know what Books were newly published. *Mr. Cherry* coming thither on the same Errand, they became acquainted: And as they discoursed of these, so also of Books of ancients Date, and of the excellent and useful Things contained in them, a Subject highly pleasing to each of them. This Conversation was so grateful to 'em both, that it was mutually agreed to meet there daily in the Afternoon; and the very Thoughts of enjoying it was to *Mr. Cherry* so preferable to other Delights, that he frequently shortened his Dinner, that he might be the sooner with his learned Friend, and have the larger Opportunity thereby to improve himself. I wish I could give the Reader the Subjects of their Conferences. But the Distance of their Habitations, especially of *Mr. Cherry's*, from *Maidenhead*, being too great, and inconvenient in the Winter Season, *Mr. Cherry* invited his Friend to be his Neighbour, procured a Place for him where he might be tabled, about a quarter of a Mile distant from him, till he had fitted up, and added to, a House for him, nearly adjoining to his own Habitation, where *Mr. Dodwell* lived many Years; and at length in another House near to it, and more convenient for him, (his Family being increased) in which he ended his Days.

AND now, before I proceed to consider *Mr. Dodwell's* Studies, and Books published by him, I must acquaint the Reader with a great Concern and Passage of his Life, viz. that of his *Marriage*, and that in the 52d Year of his Age; and

X

this,

this, that he might have Children of his own to inherit his Estate; in that one or more of the *Dodwells*, his Kinsmen, whom he designed to be his Heirs, were snatched away by Death. Whilst he thought of this Change of his Condition, God happily suggested to his Thoughts a Person in all respects fitted for him, *viz.* one in whose Father's House at *Cookham*, he had at several times tabled, and whom he had in her younger Years instructed in the Principles of Religion, in which he found her a good Proficient, and afterwards had just Reason to believe, that such Principles had Influence on her Mind and Conversation, and hereby fitted her for that Relation. How much she was suited to his Circumstances, how good a Wife she was, and how careful a Mother she continues to be, must not, she being yet alive, be here insisted on, lest I should be censured for a Flatterer. They were married *June* the 24th, in the Year 1694. God blessed them with Ten Children, of whom they buried three Sons, and one Daughter. He left six Children, who in the Order of their Birth are as followeth; *Elizabeth, Ann, Mary, Henry, Monica, and William*; whom I name, because it will hereafter be justly esteemed an Honour to be Descendents from this great and good Man; especially if they imitate his Christian Vertues, and be Followers of him, as he was of CHRIST; which God in Mercy grant they may. *Amen, Amen.*

10 EE60



THE
WORKS
Of the LEARNED
Mr. HENRY DODWELL
A B R I D G 'D:
WITH AN
Account of his LIFE.

By FRANCIS BROKESBY, B. D.

To which is added,
An ABSTRACT of Mr. DODWELL's
Book *DE CYCLIS*;
By EDM. HALLEY, LL. D.
Astron. Reg. Geom. Prof. Savil. & R.S.S.

V O L. II.

L O N D O N:

Printed for WILLIAM and JOHN INNYS at the
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George Child's book (1736)
number 502

THE

WORKS

OF THE

MR. HENRY DOWELL

A B. D. D. C.

WITH AN

Account



By ARNOLD

To which is added

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1000 DE C.

By EDM. HALLAM, LL.D.

Author of the

VOLUME

LONDON

Printed for W. Smith and Son, 10, Abchurch Lane, 1847.



CHAP. XXVI.

An Invitation to Gentlemen to acquaint themselves with ancient History.



WE left Mr. Dodwell at Cookham; where 'tis probable he wrote some of the last mentioned Treatises, and the *Annales Velleiani*. (Of which more afterwards.) In the Year 1694, the *Method of Reading History*, composed by Dagoræus Whear, (the first *Camdenian* Professor of History, chosen by Mr. Camden himself) and translated into *English* by Mr. Bohun, was published. To this Work of his Predecessor, Mr. Dodwell was desired to prefix a Preface: The Subject of it is, *An Invitation to Gentlemen to acquaint themselves with ancient History*. In this he premises the Advantage of joining Theory with Practice: Of supplying the Defects of Latter-Ages from the Ancients: How History is fitted for an *active* Life, and this in respect to *Politicks*, and the Art of *War*; especially those Historians who observe the Causes of the Rise and the Decay of States, and *Ex-temporary Arts and Stratagems in War*. He then observes how the Discipline of the *Pythagoreans* tended to make Men good *Citizens*, as well as good *Scholars*; and what great *Generals* and *States-*

Statesmen came out of their Schools, (as *Philip of Macedon*) and how other Schools produced the like. That Learning is far from emasculating the Spirits of Heroes; that not *retired*, but *active* Persons are useful in a Commonwealth: How great Princes have studied the Politicks of other Nations, and observed what gave them Advantages over their Neighbours, hereby to supply the Defects of their own Constitution: And withall considered their Errors and Sufferings, to learn Caution from them. History shews the useful *Engines* and new *Arms* invented *Ex-tempore*, as there was present Occasion for them; which, being surprizing, became thence most beneficial. Such chiefly requisite to be known by Generals. 'Tis owned, that Modern Inventions are now chiefly to be learned; but this shuts not out the Knowledge of those of the Ancients; especially if we consider, that the present Skill is but an Improvement of what was received from barbarous Nations upon the Decay of the *Roman* Empire, and not immediately from the *Greeks* or *Romans*, whose Inventions therefore are to be fetched from ancient Monuments. Here is shewn, in many Particulars, how the Education and Discipline of the Ancients did surpass those of the present Age: And among others, their great Care to lay up Provision in Store-houses; and their immediate Marching into the Heart of their Enemy's Country, without spending Time in Sieges on the Frontiers.

HERE, in Order of Time, Mr. *Dodwell's* elaborate Work *de Cyclis*, challenges its Place. Here I have new Occasion to lament my own and others

others Loss of that singularly accomplished Gentleman Mr. *Cherry*, on whom I depended for a satisfactory Account of that Work, as being most able to give it; he being, if not a Joint-Author, yet an Associate of Mr. *Dodwell* therein; as appears by Mr. *Dodwell*'s Dedicatory Epistle to him. When I became thus disappointed, and sensible of my own Inability to make a satisfactory Abstract of that great Performance, that very worthy Person, Mr. *Nelson*, as an Addition to his former Favours, prevailed with an abler Hand to undertake it.

C H A P. XXVII.

The Thucydidean, Velleian, &c. Annals.



AT the same Time whilst Mr. *Dodwell* was writing his elaborate Work *de Cyclis*, he wrote his *Thucydidean* and *Xenophontean Annals*, An. 1696. to accompany the beautiful and accurate Editions of *Thucydides* and *Xenophon*, the first performed by Dr. *John Hudson*, the latter by Dr. *Edward Wells*; not only in order to gratify the learned Editors of those Historians, but also to render those Historians more useful to the Readers.

IN the first, after he had premised that *Thucydides* was the first that wrote his History by way of

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of *Annals*; they that wrote before being not able to do it, in that the greatest part of what they wrote was only *vulgar Traditions*: He shews how *Thucydides* reckoned not by Annual Magistrates, but by Summers and Winters: That he had a twofold Beginning of the Transactions he wrote about, *viz.* the Siege of *Plataea*, and the *Spartan's* Invasion of *Attica*, a Thing necessary to be observed, in order to the exact Calculation of Years. Mr. *Dodwell* then shews when *Thucydides* was born; when he commanded in the War; when banished, and other Things that concerned the Life of this great Historian: As also the Care he used, and the Time he spent, in writing his History: As also by what Means it came into *Xenophon's* Hands, who continued the History of the *Peloponnesian* War. Mr. *Dodwell* digests in Order, so far as was possible, what *Thucydides* deliver'd of Ancient Times, even that of the War of *Troy*, with great Accuracy; but in a special Manner those of the *Peloponnesian* War, which was the Historian's chief Design; and gives the particular Passages thereof, and this in the several Years in which they were acted: And this also in the Remainder of that War, as continued by *Xenophon*. In all which, he clears several Difficulties that have been observed by learned Men in those Historians, and corrects the *Chronological* Errors of *Diodorus Sic.* and others: And this not only in the Occurrences of the *Peloponnesian* War, and the *Persian* that preceded it; but also in other Affairs that fell out in other Countries at the same Times, or a little before them.

BESIDES

BESIDES these elaborate Annals, Mr. *Dodwell* placed upon the Top of each Page of *Thucydes*, the Year wherein the Occurrence contained in that Page was acted, viz. what Year of the *Peloponnesian* War it was; what Year of the *Olympiads*, according to the *Attick* Year; and what Year *ab U. C.* according to the *Varronian* Account, to the great Ease and Benefit of the Reader.

Annales Velleiani.

TO those *Annals* I judged it not improper to join those of *Velleius*, *Quintilian*, and *Statius*, which, though written at divers Times, Mr. *Dodwell* was pleased to publish together, A. D. 1698.

THE *Velleian* Annals Mr. *Dodwell* wrote to gratify his learned Friend Dr. *Charlet*, now the worthy Master of *University College* in *Oxon*, when he was going to publish that elegant Historian *Velleius Paterculus*, Anno 1693.

MR. *Dodwell* finds out *Velleius* his Age from the Time in which he was made *Quæstor*, which he doth (as he had done in his Tenth *Camdenian Lecture*) by considering how many Years of Military Service (*numerus stipendiorum*) was requisite in any one before he could acquire that Office. He collects this also from the Time of his Father and Grandfather, and also of his Contemporaries, and that he was born Anno U. C. 725. Then he shews when he was *Præfectus Cohortis*, when *Tribune*; in which Office he received *Laticlavium*, and in which he ascended to the higher Degree of *Tribunatus Castrensis*, i. e. over the

Prætorians, which he held from *An. U. C.* 754, to 757. After that he was *Præfectus Equitum*, or *Alæ*; then *Quæstor*: At which Time he, having before that accompanied *Tiberius* into *Germany*, brought him Part of his Army, when he was engaged against the *Marcomanni*, *Pannonians*, and *Dalmatians*: And that he constantly continued with him, during the three Years that War lasted. After this, *Velleius* was made *Legatus Augusti*, (tho' *Miles Tiberii*.) Here is shewn, how this and the Office of *Præfectus Militum* are distinguished; as the Nature of this, and the aforementioned Offices, are in their due Places. 'Tis probable that *Velleius* was *Tribunus Plebis*, and that *An. U. C.* 766. We find not that he attained to any higher Honour. He wrote his History in the Consulship of *Vinicius*, as an Oblation to himself, (a thing frequently practised and desired) and hence finished before the End of that Consulship, *Anno* 783. He, having been *Sejanus's* Friend and Flatterer, probably perish'd with him, *An.* 784.

Annales Quintilianei.

FIRST 'tis observed, that *Quintilian's* chief Master was *Domitius Afer*, a Senatorian Orator; that he heard him, when he was, as he expresses it in one Place, *Juvenis*, in another *Adolescens*. Here the Confines of (*Pueritia*) Childhood and Youth are considered; as also the Times when they heard their Masters, and those in which they began to plead. From this is gather'd, that *Quintilian* was born *A. D.* 42, in the Beginning of the Reign of *Claudius*: As also
from

from the Time of *Cassutius Capito*, who was condemned under *Nero*, whose Accuser *Quintilian* heard: As he did *Servilius Nonianus*, *Passienus*, and *Balbus*, whose Ages are consider'd. *Quintilian*, in the 19th Year of his Age, A. D. 61, or 62, accompanied *Galba* into *Spain*, who was sent thither by *Nero*. Here, 'tis probable, *Quintilian* instructed Youth in the Art of Oratory, and likewise pleaded as an Advocate: As he did afterwards at *Rome*, whither, after eight Years spent in *Spain*, he returned, and spent twenty Years in both Professions, till the Time of *Domitian*: In whose Reign *Martial* celebrated him; of whom here largely. An. 77, *Quintilian* made an Oration for *Berenice*. He wrote his *Institutions*, after he left off both his Employments, in about two Years Time, and yet both finished and published them in the Time of *Domitian*. [On Occasion of *Quintilian*'s mentioning the *Agones* in Memory of *Agricola*'s Exploits, the Time of his encompassing *Britain*, and of his Victories here is considered, viz. A. D. 86. As also that of *Valerius Flaccus*, who wrote *Argonauticks*.] *Quintilian* finished his *Institutions* before the Year 94, that being the Year in which *Domitian* banished the Philosophers. *Quintilian* was not the Author of the Dialogue *de Claris Oratoribus*. Neither *Quintilian* nor *Rutilius*, whose Daughter *Quintilian* married, were Senators; in that this Honour, and being *Rhetores*, were inconsistent: Yet this was no Hindrance to his Daughter's being married to a Senator. Her Dowry *Pliny* enlarged, who probably died before *Quintilian*, his Master. *Quintilian* had *Consular* Honours and Rights conferred

ferred on him ; and that on this Reason, because he had been an Instructor of an *Augustus*, who could be no other than *Hadrian*, to whose Time he, being then aged 76, lived. As also did *Juvenal*, who then wrote his *Satyr*s, and was banished into *Egypt*, where he wrote his 15th *Satyr*, being 80 Years old. Both of them *A. D.* 118. About which Time, probably, *Quintilian* died, whose Vertues are here recounted, yet stained by his gross Flattery of *Domitian*, who so ill deserved any Commendation.

Annales Statiani.

Statius was born *A. D.* 61. deduced from being *Juvenis* ; not arrived at *Senium*, i. e. 35 or 36 Years old, when he wrote *Sylv.* iv. *Lib.* iv. *A. D.* 95. He married *Claudia*, *A.* 81. He then begun his *Thebais*, which he finished in 12 Years ; at the End of which he began his *Sylvæ*. Then *Domitian* warred against the *Germans*, (against whom he had warred before, *A. D.* 70.) His other Wars are here recited, which were celebrated by *Statius* and *Martial*.

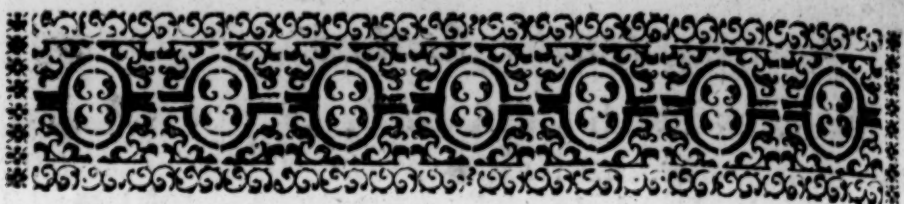
BEFORE that Time, *Statius*'s Father was dead, tho' alive at the Eruption of *Vesuvius*, *A. D.* 79. He had exercised, and was crowned, at the *Neapolitan Agones*, [celebrated every four Years, different from the *Quinquennales*, in honour of *Augustus*.] He died *A. D.* 86, or the End of 85. He had been a *Victor* in the *Pythian*, *Nemean*, and *Isthmian Games* : The first, at the 18th Year of his Age. He opened a School at *Naples*, in his 19th Year : After which, he taught at *Rome*. He was, probably, a Priest.

Statius

Statius wrote his first *Sylva*, *A.* 90. just after the *Dacic* War, and Dedication of the *Colossus*; and also the *Epithalamium* on *Stella* and *Violantilla*, which *Stella* was his School-fellow under his Father. On Occasion of the Fourth *Sylva*, the *Ludi Sæculares* of *Domitian* are shewn to be held *A.* 88. on *Domitian's* Birth-Day. The Birth and Honours of *Rutilius*, who was *Proconsul* of *Asia*, *A.* 67. of *Africa*, *A.* 75. Conqueror of the *Germans*, *A.* 86. and afterwards *Præfectus Urbis*. *Sylva* vi. The Solemnities, on Occasion of the Victories over *Antonius*, and the *Daci*, *Cal. Decemb.* *A.* 89. Accordingly, an Account is given of the rest of the *Sylvæ*, of the Time when written, and the Persons therein celebrated; particularly, *Hetruscus*, *Earinus*, *Junius Maximus*, *Julius Menecrates*, &c. Of most of these, their Birth, Exploits, and Honours; and of their Death, if they died before *Statius*. Also, the Time when *Statius* began his *Achillæis*. The Time when he ceased to write; and also, (that which was probably the same) that of his Death, *Anno Ætat.* 35.

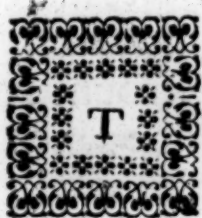
IN these *Annals*, there are many things that help to clear the *Roman* History of that Time; and many Observations that will gratify the curious Reader, as of *Speculatores* that were employed in the *Cursus Publicus*, &c.





By Way of APPENDIX are added
Two Dissertations :

(I.) Of *Julius Celsus*. (2.) Of
Commodianus.



THESE were written to the learned
Grævius, who had published a Book
of the Life of *Cæsar*, under the Name
of *Julius Celsus* ; concerning which
Author, Mr. *Dodwell* gives his Friend
his Thoughts.

HE premises, that it was not *Cæsar* that wrote
the Eighth Book of his *Commentaries*, nor the
other Histories of *Cæsar's* Actions, (which are
commonly ascribed to him) except those of the
Civil Wars: That the Author of those Histories,
in his *Prologue* to that Eighth Book, promises to
bring down the History of *Cæsar* to his Death.
Hirtius was most probably the Author of those
Books, and not *Julius Celsus*: Yet, seeing the
Books of the *Alexandrian* and *Spanish* War ap-
pear to be interpolated, and this by some of a
later Age ; 'tis probable it was done by *Julius*
Celsus, a *Constantinopolitan*, who lived somewhat
later than *Justinian*. He digested *Cæsar's* Works
into that Order wherein they now stand, and to
which are added, his Subscriptions in some MSS.
But he was not the Author of this Life of *Cæsar*,
but

Of Julius Celsus, and Commodianus. 317

but one who lived yet much later : Of whom we have no Mention before A. D. 1200. Probably an *Italian*, who had travelled over a great Part of *France* and *Germany*.

To this is added, a Dissertation concerning *Commodianus*, who lived not in the Time of *P. Sylvester*, as *Rigaltius* imagined ; there being in his (that was *Constantine's*) Time, no Persecutions, as is supposed in the Time of *Commodianus*. The 200 Years supposed from *CHRIST*, make nothing for *Rigaltius's* Opinion. [Here the unaccurate Computation of the Time of *CHRIST*, made by the first Fathers, is shewn :] *Commodianus's* Time was that of *S. Cyprian*. This appears from the *Schisms* and *Persecutions* in the Times of both of them ; as also the Flight of some, when persecuted, which both approve of ; and the Lapse of others, which both lament. 'Tis shewn, that he could not live before that Time of *S. Cyprian*. That Expression in *Commodianus*, *Intrate Sylvestri ad præsepe Pastoris*, which *Rigaltius* thinks is an Allusion to *Sylvester*, Pastor of the Church of *Rome*, is a false Reading. It ought to be, *Sylvestria ad præsepia tauri*, and is a Persuasive to the savage *Heathens* (a Convert from whom *Commodianus* probably was) to leave their unsafe Condition, and to enter into *CHRIST's* secure Fold.

MR. Dodwell in his *Synopsis Chronologica*, annexed to the *Annals* of *Quintilian*, refers to his *Annals* of *Pliny* the Younger. Hence the Reader might expect an Account of These. But *Mr. Dodwell* tells the illustrious Persons, to whom he dedicates his *Annals*, that tho' those were written first, yet he had not finished them, but expected

318 *Of the Annals of Pliny and Cæsar.*

pected to meet with somewhat to clear them, whilst he wrote the *Annals* of *Quintilian* and *Statius*, that were *Pliny's* Contemporaries. But, as Mr. *Hearne* informs us, he left them imperfect, and hence, in all likelihood, never to be published.

WHAT he wrote to settle the Chronology of *Cæsar's Commentaries*, it being never published, I refer the Reader to Mr. *Hearne's* Account of it, in his Catalogue of Mr. *Dodwell's* Works, prefix'd to Mr. *Dodwell's Dissertation* on Dr. *Woodward's Shield*, which Catalogue has been of great Service to me in this Undertaking.

MR. *Dodwell* likewise did the same, in settling the Chronology of *Josephus*, which 'tis wished he had perfected, in that it would have made the *Oxford* Edition of that useful Historian, when it shall come out by the diligent Care of Dr. *Hudson*, yet more useful and acceptable.

BUT there's another Work of this Kind, which was published, (*Anno Domini* 1704.) and that was, settling the Chronology of *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, when published by Dr. *Hudson*, the Editor of so many useful Books, for the Benefit of learned Men, and, among others, that of this excellent Historian. Here Mr. *Dodwell* has compiled Chronological Tables fitted for the Affairs of *Rome*, and what preceded the Building thereof, as handled by *Dionysius*, and suited to his Calculation of Time. To the understanding of which, he has prefixed an *Apparatus*: In which he shews, that *Dionysius*, writing the History of the *Romans* for the sake of the *Grecians*, adapted his Chronology to the *Epochæ* of the *Grecians*,
that

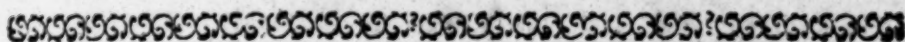
that is, the Years of the *Olympiads*, and the *Archons* of *Athens*; as *Cato* did his from the Taking of *Troy*, the great *Epocha*, that the *Romans* affected, as they derived their Original from the *Trojans*; which *Dionysius* taking in, together with the *Grecian Epochæ*, he followed Authors, who adapted it to the *Metonick Cycle*, and hence began their Year from the Summer *Solstice*: (Tho' the Year was not digested till a long time after the Siege of *Troy*.) And notwithstanding the *Romans* themselves began their Year at the Spring, viz. the *Ides of March*, or at the *Calends of January*, on which their Magistrates entred on their Office. He then considers, when the *Epocha ab U.C.* from the Building of *Rome* commenced, according to *Dionysius*, and shews it to be according to *Cato's* Reckoning by divers Instances, and answers the Arguments of *Scaliger* and *Petavius* to the contrary: And then proves, that *Dionysius's* Reckoning from the taking of *Troy*, to the *Palilia*, or *Natalitia* of *Rome*, was 433 Years, and in *Olymp. vii. 1.* And that the Difference of the Account of this, proceeded from the different Manner used in the Beginning of the Year, some beginning it at *January*, others at the *Summer Solstice*: And of *Dionysius's* Mistake, in his making the same Spring in the *Attick* and *Roman Cycle*. Here he largely discourses of the *Palilia*, and *Natalitia* of *Rome*, what *Plutarch* and others had said concerning them, and where they are to be fixed: And that nothing can be concluded from the *Eclipses* that are spoke of at the Time of the Death of *Romulus*, in that the Tempests and uncommon Darkness that then are said to happen,

happen, might be taken for *Eclipses*: From which, false Calculations might be made; which should carefully be avoided, in that the Ancients might, thro' Want of Skill in Astronomy, be guilty of thinking those *Eclipses*, which, in truth, were not so. True ones, when they happened, became surprizing, being not foreknown. When *Sulpicius Gallus* foretold an *Eclipse* to the Roman Army before it happened, with the exact Time of its Beginning and Continuance, they were no otherwise affected, but only with the Admiration of his Skill who foretold it; when, at the same time, the *Macedonians* were filled with Dread and Horror, attributing *Eclipses* to *Enchantments*; from whence is inferred, the Ignorance of the *Greeks* concerning them, at that time. And that, what is reported concerning *Anaxagoras*, and of other *Grecians*, being acquainted with the Nature of *Eclipses*, by *Plutarch*, proceeds from his Partiality, and his Fear, lest the *Romans* should rob the *Greeks* of this Invention; as he did in some other Cases. *Hipparchus* is shewn to be the first of the *Greeks* that had the Knowledge of *Eclipses*, and that he lived after *Sulpicius Gallus*, whose Observations he might have seen, and improved, and given an Account thereof for the Use of Cities. [Here is shewn, how Cities differed from *Δῆμοι*, *Vici*, *Populi*.] That *Hipparchus* was the first that used the *Epocha* of *Nabonnassar*, which was fetched from the *Babylonians*, to which the solid Observations in Chronology owe their Original, and the Predictions of *Eclipses*; and that these were late among the *Babylonians*, and, therefore, later among the *Greeks*; and,

and, how much was owing to the *Egyptian Astronomers*, who were favoured and assisted by the *Ptolemies*.

FROM all which Mr. *Dodwell* concludes, that whatever is delivered of *Eclipses* that happened in the Time of *Romulus*, is fetched from uncertain Traditions of the Ancients, or the Reasonings of some in later Ages, and therefore not to be depended on in settling of Times, or to be made Chronological Standards.

AFTER this Discourse Mr. *Dodwell's* Chronological Tables follow, and his Notes to illustrate them.



C H A P. XXVIII.

Mr. Dodwell's Letter concerning Mr. Toland's Treatment of him.

WHEN Mr. *Toland* publish'd his *Amyntor*, a Book written (as others of his were) to gratify the Enemies of Religion, and to that End (among other vile Projects) had endeavoured to subvert the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, and to make the Canon of the *New Testament* precarious: He, in order to accomplish this wicked Design, cites some Passages out of Mr. *Dodwell's* Dissertations on *Ireneus*, by
Y
wresting,

wresting, perverting, and false translating of which, he would have the unwary Reader believe, that that good Man had espoused the same Cause, and entertained the same unchristian Principles with himself. And the better to effect this, ushers in those Passages of Mr. *Dodwell's*, with a large *Encomium* of him, (tho' he knew him to be an Enemy to his Opinions and Designs) and also with a Preference of him to Clergy-men, whom he designed to blacken, at least to lessen their Reputation. Mr. *Dodwell* declined to take any Notice of such a worthless Enemy, openly; and, indeed it would have been too great an Honour to Mr. *Toland*, to have been publicly taken Notice of by so great a Person, as well as Mispendence of his Time, which he knew how to employ to better Purpose. Tho' the chief Reason of Mr. *Dodwell's* Silence was, because he thought that herein his own Person, and not the Cause of Religion, was concerned. Yet, in a Letter to a Friend, (which was afterwards published) he express'd his Sense of Mr. *Toland's* Actings. Part of which, because it vindicates Mr. *Dodwell*, and may undeceive the unwary Reader of *Amyntor*, and is withall a Testimony of his *Humility*, the little Regard he had for Personal Injuries, and the great *Regard* he had for the Honour of the Clergy, I shall here recite. " My
 " Personal Concerns I have always thought
 " too frivolous, for the Publick to be troubled
 " with them. And I should have done so still,
 " if they had gone no farther than my Person,
 " and designed only the Disparagement of that,
 " which is the Case of *Gronovius*. Mr. *Toland*
 has

“ has taken another Way of doing me more In-
“ jury under a fairer Pretence, and of involving
“ others (for whom I think myself more con-
“ cerned in Duty than for myself) in the same
“ Injury, that of an invidious, and odious, as
“ well as undeserved Comparison with my Bet-
“ ters. I am very sensible, how suitable it is to
“ his other Treatment of that Holy Order, whose
“ Honour I have made it the Study of my Life
“ to promote. It is very agreeable to that mean
“ Opinion he has, on all Occasions, shewn to
“ their Function, to admit of any Comparisons
“ of so despicable a Person as I am with them,
“ much more so to prefer me with the meanest
“ of them. I wish with all my Heart, I knew
“ how to make them Amends for the Dishonour
“ and Injustice done them, tho' I am not con-
“ scious of having been any way the Cause, but
“ only the Occasion of it: I am really asham'd
“ of it, and asham'd of making more Words
“ concerning it.

“ I AM sensible how much his pretended Par-
“ tiality for me, has prejudiced me in the Opi-
“ nions of better Men than himself. If this
“ were his Design, I have already felt the Ef-
“ fects of it. I see his Interest in it, to recom-
“ mend his own false Reasonings from my Book,
“ on pretence of my Authority; and to inti-
“ mate to those who are not pleased to con-
“ sult my Book, and who are ignorant of my
“ obscure Character, that I rival'd him in Li-
“ berties for unsettling the Belief of our Holy
“ Christian Religion, or our Sacred Canon. Him-
“ self knows me better than in earnest to think

“ this is true, which, notwithstanding, by his In-
 “ timations, he seems so desirous that others
 “ should believe concerning me. This is a just
 “ Reason to believe, that his Characters are as false
 “ as his Friendship. I have withall, besides this,
 “ other Evidences of his unsincere Dealing with
 “ myself. But whilst he makes himself a pub-
 “ lick Enemy, undervaluing all things that might
 “ be valued by good Men, I deprecate his Elogies,
 “ and shall think him a fairer Adversary in his
 “ false Reproaches than in his insidious Com-
 “ mendations.” The rest of his Letter contains
 Wishes, that Mr. *Toland* may become a better
 Man.

MR. *Toland's* unsincere Dealing that is taxed
 in that Letter, appears, among other things, in
 his false and disingenuous Translation of a Pas-
 sage cited out of *Dissertation I. on Irenæus*. Where
 Mr. *Dodwell* says, that there are *ἐναντιοφάνη*, *seem-*
ing Contrarieties in the Holy Gospels: This Mr.
Toland translates *apparent Contradictions*; by
 which he grossly perverts the Sense, and would
 insinuate to the unwary Reader, as if Mr. *Dod-*
well had as little Veneration for the *Holy Scri-*
ptures, and for the Christian Religion, as him-
 self.

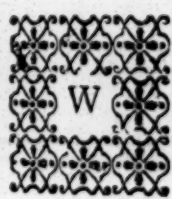
THE foregoing Letter was published *Anno*
Domini 1701. in the Second Edition of a learn-
 ed Treatise, entituled, *The Canon of the New*
Testament vindicated, in answer to *J. Toland's*
Amyntor: Which was written by the Reverend
J. Richardson, B. D. a Person of great Learn-
 ing and Probity, deprived for his Care to pre-
 serve a good Conscience: Who was willing to do

do Service for the Church, in his Retirement, so far as his infirm State of Health would permit. As formerly, when Fellow of *Emanuel College* in *Cambridge*, as a Tutor, fitting young Persons to be instrumental to do Good in Church or State; so since, in the like Care for a worthy Peer of this Kingdom.



C H A P. XXIX.

Mr. Dodwell's Apology for Cicero's Philosophical Writings.

HEN Mr. Samuel Parker, Mr. Dodwell's and my own honoured Friend, among other Writings wherewith he studied to benefit the World, had, Anno 1702, translated *Cicero de finibus*, Mr. Dodwell, in a Letter to the Translator, wrote, in answer to Mr. Petite's and others Objections, an *Apology for Tully's Philosophical Writings*, and to evidence the great Worth and Benefit of them.

HE shews, that they preserve the Notions of those Philosophers, whose Writings are lost, that wrote after the Time of *Theophrastus* to his own, who were Improvers of what *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, &c. had written, and whose best Thoughts *Tully* had represented: That he delivers an Ac-

count of the Sects of the *Platonists*, *Stoicks*, and *Epicureans*; and withall, his own Sense of the things they wrote of: In which he had chiefly employed himself, unless in *Oratory*: And this last is shewn to be, in *Tully's* Thoughts, not only consistent with *Philosophy*, but also advanced by it, without which *Oratory* would be imperfect; on which Reasons, *Tully* studied it, and became so great a Proficient in it: Which the Defects in his own Practice (objected by *S. Augustin*) are not sufficient to disprove, nor to render his Writings the less perfect Standards of *Philosophy*. Neither is his own mean Opinion thereof an Argument against it, seeing 'tis only expressed in his mean Performances; in that he afterwards followed the Study thereof more closely, and made it his great Design to excell the *Greeks* therein, by becoming not a meer *Interpreter*, but a *Correcter* and *Improver* of their *Philosophy*: Yea, even so far, as that the *Romans* should have no need to have recourse to the Writings of the *Greeks*. He inferred the Accomplishment hereof, by the kind Reception his own Works had found amongst his Country-men. This Success was owned by *Seneca* and *Quintilian*, who made him a Rival to *Plato*: And by *Plutarch*, who intimates, that *Cicero* valued himself more as a *Philosopher*, than an *Orator*.

MR. Dodwell then considers *Petite's* Objections. (1.) That *Cicero* writes, as if both Parts of a Contradiction might be false. This is shewn to be falsely objected. (2.) His making an *active* Life preferable to a *contemplative*. This Opinion is shewn to be agreeable to Reason, to the Judgment

ment of the wisest *Heathens*, of the *Jews*, and of the best *Christians*. (3.) His commending *Cato* for killing of himself. This is shewn to be the Opinion of the best *Heathen* Philosophers: That as for *Plato*, tho' he be against it in his *Phædo*, yet the *Platonists* generally approved and practised it; that *Cicero* was not ignorant of what *Plato* had said, and hence is to be reconciled to what *Plato* himself had elsewhere written: And here 'tis shewn that he, in some Cases, approves of *Suicide*; as when the Person had Leave from his own Guardian *Genius* to do it, the Intimations of which a Philosophical Soul was best disposed to lay hold on: And that this Doctrine was applicable to *Cato's* Case, who could not, without contradicting his Principles and former Practice, live in Subjection to *Cæsar*; especially, when the preferring Death to Slavery was, by that Doctrine, thought commendable in Persons bred under a *Genius* of *Liberty*, especially in Philosophers; and that his End might be uniform to the former Part of his Life; and this without any Envy to *Cæsar*. *Socrates's* Case under the Thirty Tyrants, is shewn to be different in many respects from that of *Cato*. The Doctrine of *Plato*, and that of *Cato*, is shewn to be insufficient to excuse our Modern *Suicides*; and how by this they are brought under a *piacular* Guilt, and become ranked among *Devils*. [Here the middle State of Souls, and the Power of Devils over them, is considered.] Among *Christians* in no Cause *Suicide* is approved, but, (1.) that of *Martyrdom*: And that was not dying by their own Hands, but a chearful Readiness to die, to

hate Life, for CHRIST's sake, and such as *Ignatius's* forcing (*παραβιάσασθαι*) wild Beasts to dispatch him. And, (2.) in Defence of *Chastity*: Especially, when it secured them from Pollution with *Heathens*, which was esteemed *piacular*. [Here People, not guilty in their own Persons, are shewn to have been punished for *piacular Crimes*.] *Petite's* last Objection against *Cicero*, is, his preferring the *Twelve Tables* before the Libraries of Philosophers. This is shewn not to be unreasonable, in that the End of Philosophy was the Effecting of the Happiness of Mankind, and consequently then chiefly effected when it becomes most Extensive, and procures the Welfare of great Societies, to which good Laws in a special manner conduce. Especially, if the Discoveries, which are the great Foundation of Humane Laws, proceeded from *Divine Revelation*, and from GOD's founding *Societies*, and for the better Preservation of them, teaching the Members of those Societies the *Duties* that conduce to that End, which Philosophers received by immemorial Tradition, they being not their own Contrivance, and which had a great Share in the *Twelve Tables*. Besides, not *contemplative*, but *active* Philosophers were fitted to make Laws. Tho' the former of these might best shew the Reasonableness of them, when enacted; yet not the chief Reasons for which they were enacted, nor the main Motives which obliged Subjects to the Observance of them, Rewards and Punishments. Mr. *Dodwell* concludes, with congratulating the Translator's Entertainment of excellent Prin-

Principles, and his Adherence to 'em in a degenerate Age.

ABOUT the same time, Mr. *Dodwell* wrote a Letter concerning the *Immortality of the Soul*, against Mr. *Henry Layton's Hypothesis*; which Mr. *Layton* himself published in a Book he wrote, entituled, *Arguments and Replies, in a Dispute concerning the Nature of the Humane Soul, viz. Whether the same be immaterial, separately subsisting, and intelligent, &c.* But the Abstract of that Letter I shall reserve to be inserted in a *Postscript* to the Account of Mr. *Dodwell's Hypothesis* concerning the *Soul*, to convince some, how much Mr. *Dodwell* was an Enemy to Mr. *Layton's* Notions.



C H A P. XXX.

An Account of the Lesser Geographers.



WHEN the learned Dr. *Hudson* published the *Lesser Geographers*, Books useful to them that prosecuted that Study, but not easily to be procured: Upon that worthy Person's Desire to Mr. *Dodwell*, than whom he knew none better fitted for it, from his singular Skill in History and Chronology, he wrote an Account of those Geographers, chiefly

chiefly of the Time wherein they lived, and the Places wherein they were born, and where they wrote. *Vol. I. An. 1698. Vol. II. An. 1703. Vol. III. An. 1712.*

IN *Vol. I.* he begins with *Hanno* who wrote the *Periplus*. Shews how little Ground there is for his learned Friend Dr. *Isaac Vossius's* Fancy to make him as ancient as *Perseus* who killed the *Gorgons*, founded on *Hanno's Garilla*, whom he met with; these being unlike the *Gorgons* in many respects; the Story of the *Gorgons* being only a Poetical Fiction of *Hesiod*; never taken Notice of by Historians; later than *Perseus*: The Seat assigned them various and uncertain, as *Cyrene*, somewhere about *Fretum Gaditanum*, or the Atlantick *Cerne*, assigned by *Hanno*: Which is a Proof against his Antiquity, and evinces the Vanity of his *Periplus*, which names Cities and Places no where else to be found; and that he was esteemed fabulous even by the Ancients. Then the Argument from the *Carthaginian* River *Anno* in *Palæphatus*, supposed to be named from this Geographer, is shewn to be groundless: As also what is urged from the *Phœnician* Colonies beyond the Streights of *Hercules* mention'd by *Strabo*, to be impertinent. This Navigation, if there was any such, is shewn, from *Pliny*, to be performed by the *Carthaginians*. Here Dr. *Vossius's* Opinion that *Carthage* was built 50 Years before the War of *Troy*, and consequently before *Dido*, is refuted: *Tyre* itself, of which *Carthage* was a Colony, being but 68 Years before the *Trojan* War. To illustrate this obscure Piece of Chronology, Mr. *Dodwell* has given a Table to
shew

shew the Concurrence of the *Tyrian* Affairs, and the Kings of *Tyre*, chiefly from *Josephus* against *Apion*, with what is deliver'd in the Holy Scripture; and the Coæval Kings of *Israel* and *Judah*, in order to fix the Time of *Dido's* Flight from *Tyre*.

SEEING *Pliny's* Account of this *Periplus* is most probable, and performed by the *Carthaginians*, and this in their most flourishing Condition: To find which out, (having taken Notice of *Antiochus Syracus*, and others, that deliver the *Carthaginian* Affairs in the first Times) he shews it must be before the first *Punick* War, in which the *Romans* deprived them of some of their Territories; and it must be after they had acquired much in *Sicily*, which was after the Time of *Gelo*, at which they were unsuccessful in their Designs upon that Island; and therefore between *Olympiad* 92.4. and *Olympiad* 129. *Pliny* makes *Himilco* to sail in Discovery of the Maritime Parts of *Europe* Northwards, at the same Time that *Hanno* went towards the South and the East. Now when we find both *Hanno* and *Himilco* employed as Generals in the War against *Agathocles*, at which Time, when the *Carthagians* thought themselves able to besiege *Syracuse*, they were in a flourishing Condition; this is the most likely Time for this Expedition. This Work is mention'd by *Xenophon of Lampsacus*, but nothing can be inferred from him whose Age is so uncertain. The first we are certain of, is the Author of *Wonderful Reports*, θαυμασιῶν ἀνισχυμάτων, who was a little after *Aristotle*, probably *Theophrastus*. *Scylax* mentions this *Periplus*, but not from *Han-*

no, whom he never names, and delivers Things differently from *Hanno*, and therefore from other Authors that were more ancient: In which, when *Cerne* is mention'd, *Hanno's* Fallshood and Vanity in challenging that Name to himself is shewn, or rather of him who wrote this *Periplus*; not *Hanno*, but some *Greek* who personated him, and yet betrays himself, by giving not *Punick* but *Greek* Names to the Places he mentions, concealing his Imposture, by pretending (as others had done) that the Writing was kept in a Temple, tho' it appears not that the *Carthaginians* had such Archives. Lastly, here is shewn, that the *Periplus* we have now, is in many things different from what the Ancients had, by what they cite out of it; and that there was no such *Periplus* written before the Time of *Herodotus*.

As for *Scylax Caryandensis*, he was not that Writer of the same Name mention'd by *Herodotus*, the Voyages mentioned by him being from *India* to the *Red-Sea*, of which this writes nothing. Nor he that wrote under *Darius Hystasp.* tho' mistaken for such by later Writers, because they thought this was dedicated to *Darius*. When there is no other of the Name to be found, this Geographer must be the same *Scylax* who wrote against *Polybius*. He could not be ancients than *Polybius*, in that he describes the Places all along adjoining to the *Mediterranean Sea*, much of which, viz. from *Carthage* to the Streights of *Gades*, were unknown to the *Greeks*, till the Wars with the *Romans* in the Time of *Polybius*, who made it his Business to acquaint himself with those Countries, before his Time unknown to his

his Country-men. Besides this, *Scylax* mentions the *Emporia* of the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*, which could not be before that *Amilcar*, the Father of *Hannibal*, had subdued them, which was after the Time of *Alexander the Great*. He makes the Bounds of the *Etrurians* to reach to the *Adriatick* Sea, which must happen after that the *Romans* (on account of the Assistance they had afforded them against the *Gauls*) enlarged their Territories; which could not be before the *Varronian* Year, *ab U. C.* 532. He makes *Leucas* an Island, which was always joined to the Continent by an *Isthmus*, till the *Romans*, after the Subduing of *Perseus*, by drawing a Channel made it an Island, to secure them from the Invasions of the *Acarnanians*, about the *Varronian* Year 587. He mentions *Messene* in *Peloponnesus*, which must be after the Time of *Epaminondas*, who recover'd it out of its Ruins: Thence he could not be elder than that Time; yet he could not be after the *Varro-nian* Year 608. in that he mentions *Corinth* and *Carthage*, in which Year both of those Cities were destroyed. Mentions *Cius* under that Name, which received a new Name from *Prusias* King of *Bitynia*, to whom it was given by *Philip* of *Macedon*, who died in the *Varronian* Year 575.

BUT whereas there are some Things in this *Pe-riplus*, which cannot well consist with this Time of *Scylax*, as his making *Tyre* an Island, which was joined to the Continent by *Alexander the Great*, and some other Things here mention'd; Mr. *Dodwell* gathers, that *Scylax* did not sail about the Ocean himself, but only collected his Observations from those of others who had, even
in

in part before his own Time, made such Expeditions, or from such who had at second-hand given an Account of them. From whence it comes that he gives other Names to Places than what were given in his own Time, being such which the Authors, out of whom he made his Collection, used.

HE considers the Reasons which *Gronovius* gave for making this *Scylax* as ancient as *Epaminondas*. To this *Gronovius*, instead of an Answer, published a scurrilous Invektive, whereto *Mr. Dodwell* judged a Neglect thereof to be the best Reply, esteeming nothing fit to be publish'd, but what might be beneficial to the Reader, which Things meerly Personal could not be. However, in this Case he thought it needless, in that he imagined that he should be never the worse thought of from this Usage, seeing other Persons of singular Worth met with the like Treatment from *Gronovius*; and even his own Father could not escape his unhandsome Reflexions, whom *Mr. Dodwell* used to speak of, as of his Writings, with a just Value for his Learning and Candor. Which last 'tis to be wished his Son had studied to imitate.

Mr. Dodwell concludes with some Observation on *Scylax's Periodus*, or Journey by Land: And that what he delivers concerning the Coasts of *Africa*, was not borrowed from *Hanno*, but from *Polybius*.

THE next is *Agatharchides Cnidius*, who wrote of the *Red-Sea*, or rather of the Southern Countries. He wrote not in the Time of *Ptolemy Philometor*, as *Vossius* gather'd from his being Reader

to *Heraclides Lembus*, who then lived ; for that he might be, when young ; but considerably after, in that he was Tutor to one of the *Ptolemys*, who as it could not be *Philometor*, so 'tis shewn, that neither his Brother *Euergetes*, nor *Soter* or *Physcon*, could be his Pupils, and consequently it must be *Ptolemy Alexander*, who reigned from the *Varronian* Year 649, to 666. And thence that *Agatharchides* wrote about the Year 650. And not later, in that he wrote a little before *Artemidorus*, who published his *Periplus*, An. 651. To illustrate this, Mr. *Dodwell* hath given us a Chronological Table of the *Egyptian Ptolemys*, from *Philometor* to *Cleopatra*, the last of that Race, with his Notes thereon ; which are highly valuable, as are the Fragments of *Porphry*, by which he was directed, in that the Reigns of the *Ptolemys* are confused, they being all called by that Name ; and withall, the *Cognomina* of several of them are the same.

I HAVE heard Mr. *Dodwell* observe, how obscure the Affairs of the *Egyptian Ptolemys* are, in that we have only an incidental Account of them, as they fell in with the History of other Nations. As therefore this, so Mr. *Dodwell's* Dissertation concerning that *Ptolemy*, under whom the LXX translated the *Old Testament* into *Greek*, who was *Philopator*, wherein the Times of those first *Ptolemys* are consider'd, had it been perfected, and thereby fitted for Publication, would have highly gratified the inquisitive Reader.

THE *Fourth* is the Author of the *Periplus* of the *Erythræan* Sea. He could not write before *Trajan* who conquer'd *Arabia*, and destroyed its *Emporium*,

porium, of which this Author makes Mention ; nor very soon after it, intimated in that he says, it was not long (ὅτι πρὸ πολλῆς) before his own Days. Not *Arrian*, who was a little before this Author, and the Time of *Marcus Antoninus* ; under whom and *Verus*, he mentioning *Roman Augusti*, αὐτοκράτορες, at that Time, to whom *Charibael*, a King in *Arabia*, sent Embassies, which must be before the *Varronian* Year 166, in which *Trajan* triumph'd. Mr. *Dodwell* then considers *Salmasius*'s Arguments. (1.) From the Mention of a Temple of *Augustus* in *Scythia Limyrica* : This is shewn to be wide of *Arabia* ; and that other Emperors, besides *Octavianus*, were named *Augusti*. From this Author's giving the Name of the Isle of *Palæsimundi* to *Taprobane*, and not that of *Salica*, into which *Ptolemy* says it was changed. After other Answers, Mr. *Dodwell* shews, that there was no such Change of Names ; that these were divers Places ; that the *Romans* were little acquainted with *India*, there having been no Commerce with those Parts from the Time of *Alexander the Great*, till the Time of *Claudius* : That the Name of *Taprobane* was given to several Countries, that is, to the utmost they had there discover'd, as was given to the *British Thule*. [Here much of what the Ancients say of those Parts is told, and an Account given of the Reason of the Names given to Places, and the Differences of the Ancients about them.] This Author is shewn to give the same, tho' confused, Account of Places with *Ptolemy*, and therefore most probably to be his Contemporary ; most of which he had from the Writings of the former Age,

Age, not the Discoveries of his own. Another Argument that *Salmasius* brought for making this Author as ancient as *Pliny*, is because he has the same Names of the Kings of those Parts that *Pliny* had, viz. of *Ceptobotis* and *Pandion*. To this is answer'd, that these being the Names of the Kings, when the *Romans* had Intercourse with them, they gave the same Names to the Kings that lived at other Times; but chiefly, that the same Names are given to Kings in a Succession, as were to the *Ptolemys* in *Egypt*, and others. There was a *Pandion* before *Pliny's* Time, who sent an Embassy to *Augustus*, therefore not the same *Pandion*.

THE *Fifth* was the Author of the *Periplus* of the *Euxine* Sea. He wrote at the latter End of *Hadrian's* Reign. He was *Arrian*, who had *Cappadocia* for his Province, (and described that Part of the *Euxine* Sea, from his own Knowledge, that joined to *Cappadocia*.) And that was in the 20th Year of *Hadrian*, about which Time he enter'd upon his Province, and gives the Particulars of his Journey; before the War with the *Alani*, or *Albani*; therefore *A.D.* 136. Here is shewn how this *Periplus* is suited to the Humour of *Hadrian*, and how this *Arrian* is the same who collected the Dissertations of *Epietetus*, and who affected the Name of the younger *Xenophon*, as writing on the same or like Subjects with the Son of *Gryllus*. Here the Time of each of *Arrian's* Books is shewn. The *ὑπομνήματα* of *Epietetus* first, which must be after *Epietetus's* Death, and before he arrived at any Dignity in *Rome*, having before visited other Countries, and from

them received Denominations. *Epietetus* died in the Time of *Hadrian*. He was dead before the Time of *Gellius*, whose last Book was written before the Year 165. His Coævals are here mention'd. The Time of *Epietetus*'s Death made out by the Time of *Lucian*'s *Demonax*. *Arrian* was Disciple to *Epietetus* after *Epietetus*'s Return from Banishment, most likely in the Time of *Trajan*, beginning *Anno* 104, after the second *Dacick* War, and continued Twenty Years in his School. Then he wrote the Books by which he merited his Honours, here named. Among them, of the *Parthian* Wars, whilst penning the Discourses of *Epietetus*. By the first he won *Trajan*'s Favour, by the last, that of the Philosophers. Then he was made Præfect of *Cappadocia*, afterwards Consul. [Here is discoursed of the Age and Steps by which Honours were attained among the *Romans*.] After his Retirement, *Anno* 147, he wrote the Life of *Alexander*, and also other Histories mention'd by *Photius*, and others. 'Tis probable he lived to the Beginning of *Marcus*'s Reign. In the *Paschal Chronicon*, instead of *Africanus*, *Arrianus* is to be read.

6. THIS *Periplus*, tho' it carries the Name of *Nearchus*, was written by *Arrian*: And that immediately after he had finished the Life of *Alexander*, and before he had seen what *Ptolemy* had written, and consequently in the Time of *Pius*, a little before *Ptolemy* had published his Geography. *Arrian*, as he omits, so he has several things that are not in *Pliny*'s *Nearchus*, particularly the Reckoning of Distances of Places: But 'tis probable

bable these were interpolated in After-Times, (the *Greeks* reckoning not by *Miles*) of which the Reasons are here assigned. *Nearchus* is not first mention'd by *Juba* in *Pliny*, he being known to *Diodorus*, who wrote at the latter End of *Augustus's* Reign. *Nearchus* is not mention'd by *Agatharchides*, &c. nor by the Collectors of fabulous Expeditions: Whence 'tis inferred, that the Work under the Name of *Nearchus*, was a Fiction of some *Greek* in the Time of *Juba*. Here the Errors, entertained after *Alexander's* Time, of *Indus* and *Nilus* being joined, and about the Rivers of Paradise, and *Chus* being taken for *Ethiopia*, are taken Notice of: And how some, about the latter End of the *Ptolemys*, wrote Fables, especially concerning *Alexander*, and published them as true History: Among whom was *Nearchus*, who wrote a larger History, of which what *Juba* wrote was but a Scrap; and 'tis probable *Onesicritus* was no better; not the same who by *Laertius* is compared with *Xenophon*.

Of *Marcianus Heracleota*.

7. **H**E collected the Travels of others, both by *Sea* and *Land*. He wrote those by *Land* of these *Western* Parts, beginning from *Rome* the great Imperial City, as others had done. If there was another Part, 'twas of the *Eastern* Parts. He is most celebrated for the Voyages by *Sea*, and herein abridged *Artemidorus*, and made a Supplement to him; as he did likewise to *Menippus*, who is shewn to be but a little before *Marcian*. There can be nothing firmly inferred of the Age of Geographers from
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their

their Assigning the Bounds of Countries, in that this depended so much on the Pleasure of Princes, and in that they might give those Names which they found in other Geographers. Next is shewn, how the Work here published is not the same with that of *Artemidorus* and *Menippus*, that being of Voyages by Sea, tho' herein are some Things for which he is indebted to *Artemidorus*. *Protagoras*, probably, later than *Ptolemy*. Seeing *Marcian* borrowed from *Menippus*, his Age is enquired into, and found to be, probably, that of *Commodus*. *Marcian* was before *Stephanus*, the Author of the Geographical *Lexicon*, being therein cited. *Stephanus* before *Arcadius*. He was before *Agathemerus*, who mentions the *στὰς τόπεδα*, the several Camps placed in *Britain* for its Security, and therefore must live before *Maximus*, the Murderer of *Gratian*, *An. Dom.* 383, who recalled the Legions from hence; which never after that had here fixed Stations; and by mentioning *Byzantium*, must live before it got the Name of *Constantinople*, and probably about the Time of *Aurelian*. At last 'tis shewn, that seeing *Menippus* was after *Ptolemy*, and *Agathemerus* after *Menippus*, and *Marcian* after *Agathemerus*, he must live before the End of the Fourth Century.

Of the Anonymous Author of the Periplus of the Euxine Sea.

8. **T**HIS Work was collected out of several Writers, especially *Scymnus Chius*, of whose *Iambicks* there are some Footsteps; and *Arrian*, (only he reckons by Roman Miles) whose *Periplus*

Periplus is not proved to be imperfect. He is shewn to compute the *Roman* Miles differently from what the ancient *Romans* reckoned, viz. of eight *Stadia*, this of seven *Stadia* and a half, which is followed by the latter *Greeks*, [the Reasonings of whom are here shewn ;] and these *Greeks* of *Constantinople*, tho' before that Name was given to that City. This Author lived a little before that Time, that is, when *Dioclesian* had made *Nicomedia* the Seat of the Empire. Nothing can be certainly inferred from Names given to Cities, inasmuch as they might at the same time have two Names, one given by the Natives, another by the *Greeks*, as *Belgick* and *French* Names are given to Towns in *Flanders*. As for the Name of *Sosthenii* added to *Daphne* situate on the *Thracian-Bosphorus*, it was used to distinguish it from *Daphne* near *Antioch*, than which it was elder, (tho' later than *Daphne Sergii* in the Suburbs of *Constantinople*) and is mentioned by this Author as now called *Sosthenes*, and suits his Time before assigned: As does the Name of *Thera* given to the Place before that, called *Aulai Teĩxos*; as that of *Sozopolis* to that City which was called *Apollonia* before, and after retained the same Name, and possibly used by the barbarous *Scythians*, who a little before had possess'd those Countries, rather than that of *Sozopolis*, which was given it by the Christians in Honour of our Blessed Saviour. Then is shewn, how this Author's retaining the Name of *Byzantium* shews the Time of this Author, the changing it to *Constantinople* being after the Time of *Constantine's* Victories over the *Scythians*, which was not

till the 22d or 23d Year of his Reign; tho' 'tis possible this Author might use the Name of *Byzantium*, after the Name was changed, as best known, and best suited to their Gust, for whose sake he wrote this *Periplus*, the *Greeks* affecting ancient Names: (Of which many Instances are here given.) And in that there was no need of mentioning the Change of the Name, when so well known, as there was of Places of greater Distance, and so less known to his Countrymen.

VOL. II. I. *Decæarchus*'s Time is known from its Dedication to *Theophrastus*, who succeeded *Aristotle* in his School. That was in *Olympiad* 114. 3. wherein he continued to *Olympiad* 123. In which part of that Time this was written, is gather'd from the Mention of the Rebuilding of *Thebes*, which was performed by *Cassander*, *Olympiad* 116. This was before the Time in which *Demetrius Poliorcetes* took it the second time: Here the Contrarieties of *Dicæarchus*, in his Metrick and Prose Fragments, concerning this, are considered, and the Assertions of other Authors of the Time of *Demetrius*'s Conquest of *Cassander* and his Son, and the Beginning of his Kingdom in *Macedon*. Another Note of Time is gather'd from an Intimation of *Demetrius Phalereus*'s Government of *Athens*, to make this written before *Olympiad* 118. 1. at which Time he was driven from thence. From another slavish State of the Inhabitants of *Chalcis* in *Bæotia*, and from what is said of *Oropus*, the Time for the Metrick Work of *Dicæarchus*, is inferred to be at the End of *Olympiad* 116. the Prose in the End of *Olymp.* 117.

As from the Time of Deciding a Case for an *Athleta*; put off for 30 Years by the *Thebans*. The Design of the Metrical Work was to make his *Maps* better understood, and Names easily remember'd. The Maps he drew were first of *Peloponnesus*, then of all *Greece*, afterwards of the *whole Earth*, so far as his Knowledge extended, (by others gradually advanced) to which this Work was subservient. In these general Maps the Geographers had a Regard to *Greece* as the Center of the Earth, computing the Distances of other Places from thence. The last Book of *Dicaearchus*, of the *Life of Greece*, was concerning the Provision they made for their Subsistence, and the Ways they used in order to procure it; of which there are Footsteps in the Prose Fragments; none in the Metrical. The Title of ἀναγραφὴ, why given to the Metrical Fragment of *Dicaearchus*, and of the *Anagraphæ* of the Ancients, is here considered: In that the Islands and *Peloponnesus* are taken notice of, which were not esteemed Parts of *Greece*.

THE Fragment concerning Mount *Pelios* was written by *Dicaearchus*, tho' its Place cannot be so certainly fixed among his Works. He wrote of other Mountains of all the *Macedonian Empire*, as they occurred: Several of which he measured, (as *Pliny* says) *curâ Regum*, by the Direction and Help of Kings; so that the Time must be immediately after *Alexander's* Death, that is, after the Birth of the Son of *Roxane*, who and *Aridæus* were Kings together, which was between *Olympiad* 114. 2, and *Olympiad* 115. 4. This being a peaceful Time, and *Alexander's* Captains had not

as yet shared his Dominions among themselves. This Measuring was both ὁρῶν and ὁρῶν, of the Bounds of Countries, as well as of the Hills. The Time of his *Writing* of these, was considerably after, viz. *Olympiad* 121. 2. after *Demetrius* had got the Kingdom of *Macedon*, and built *Demetrias*, which is taken Notice of by *Dicaearchus*.

NOTICE is taken of another Work of *Dicaearchus*, of which we have only the Names: His *Tripoliticum*, which was an Account of some *Tripolis*; of which Name there were divers. This was probably that of the *Dorians* in *Peloponnesus*, not far from *Sparta*, and its *Metropolis*.

THE Names of *Posidippus* and *Philiscus*, whom he appeals to as living Witnesses of what he writes, and thence his Contemporaries, still confirms the Age of *Dicaearchus*. *Lynceus* the *Samian* (in *Athenæus*) was known to *Theophrastus*, and he has an Epistle to *Posidippus*. Besides this, *Posidippus* lashed *Zeno* the *Stoick*, who was 80 Years old when he wrote to *Antigonus Gonatas*, under whom he lived 18 Years. To clear which, Mr. *Dodwell* has given an accurate Account of the Succession of the Kings of *Macedon*, after the Death of *Alexander the Great*, beginning with *Aridæus*, and ending with *Perseus*. To clear the Time of the Poet *Philiscus*, who lived in the Reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, Mr. *Dodwell* has given us a Chronological Table of the *Egyptian Ptolemies*, beginning with *Ptol. Lagi*, and ending with *Philometor*, where he began the Succession before-mention'd, in the Account of *Agatharchides*.

II. *Isidorus Characenus*. He lived not in the Time of *Ochus* King of *Persia*, as *Vossius* supposed, that not being the *Artaxerxes* mention'd by him, but one of the *Satrapæ* of the *Parthians*, whom they named Kings, in the time of the *Macedonians*. Many things are mention'd by this Author, that cannot agree with the Time of *Ochus*, being much later; suited to the Times of the *Arfacidæ*, the first of whom was not before *Olymp. 130*, or *131*. And not till the Times when the *Romans* conquered them, of whom *Pompey* was the first, and the King was *Phraates*. Nay farther, after the Flight of *Tiridates*, which was *Anno Domini 36*. Nay farther, after the Time of *Strabo*, and *Pliny*, shewn by his giving new Names to Cities, otherwise called by *them*, and assigning streighter Bounds to Provinces than they had done. This is made farther out from the Time of *Athenæus*, and of *Lucian*, who mention *Isidore*, where *Lucian's* Age, and the Time he wrote his *Philopatris*, is shewn, (which, probably, caused the Persecution against the *Christians*) as also of his *Hermotimus* to ridicule *Marcus*. The Time of his Birth, &c. not then old, when in his Book of *Long-lived Men*, he cites *Isidore*. This *Isidore* mentions *Mesopotamia*, as possessed then by the *Parthians*. This must be before the Time of *Caracalla*, till when it was under the *Romans*, and indeed from the beginning of *Hadrian*, *Anno Domini 117*, to that of *Marcus*, *Anno Domini 161*. The *Parthians* being the next Year driven out, by the Conduct of *Avidius Cassius*, under *Verus*. This could not be the *Isidore* mentioned by *Pliny*, who would have particularly taken Notice of him

him when describing *Parthia*, had this been the same. No, that *Isidore* wrote a *Periplus*, and not a *Periegesis*; as this did, who wrote a Description of Countries, and not meer Sea-Voyages. *Solinus* was some time after this *Isidore*, who mentions an *Artaxerxes*, that, after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, possessed *Judæa*: This must be after the Time of *Alexander Severus*, and before that of the younger *Gordian*, who recovered *Syria* out of the Hands of the *Parthians*. *Solinus*, in making 18 *Satrapies* in *Parthia*, might be after this *Isidore*; who, tho' he makes 19, might be, notwithstanding this, after him, in that he might follow Authors who wrote before *Isidore*. This, being Part of a larger Work, contains the several Mansions and Stages of the *Cursus Publicus* of the *Persians*, by whom it was begun. They reckoned at first by *Parasanga*, after by the Greek *Schæni*, being double thereto, containing 60 *Stadia*. Both of these were at first Certain, but after, both admitted of Variety, in several Countries; yet so, as that their Measure was Certain, tho' alter'd from the former Standard: And this, that it might be accommodated to the *Roman Miles*. Rules are given, how these reckonings may be reduced to a certain Standard.

III. *Scymnus Chius* dedicates his Work to *Nicomedes* King of *Bythinia*, at the same time when an *Attick* Author did a like Performance to *Attalus Philadelphus*, King of *Pergamus*: The surest Method to find out this Time, is to state the Succession of the Kings of *Bythinia*, and *Pergamus*. The latter of these is the more useful, in that by Means of the Library there erected, (as
at

at *Alexandria*) so many Persons, learned in several Professions, had their Rise from thence. Here we have the Succession of the *Pergamene* Kings, from *Philetærus* the First, who was set up at the Death of *Lyfimachus*, Anno U. C. *Varr.* 472. to *Attalus*, Son of *Eumenes* II. and the last of those Kings, who fell U. C. *Varr.* 621. To which is subjoined a Chronological Table, where the contemporary Kings of *Syria*, *Egypt*, &c. have their Time assigned. The second of those Kings of *Pergamus* was *Attalus Philadelphus*, to whom the anonymous *Attick* inscribed his Geographical Work, and in whose Time *Apollodorus* wrote his *Chronicon*. Seeing *Scymnus* dedicates his Poem to a King of *Bithynia*, it must be before *An. Varr.* 679, in that then the last King *Nicomedes* left that Kingdom as a Legacy to the *Romans*. The *Nicomedes*, to whom *Scymnus* made his Dedication, was surnamed *Chrestus*. Next is shewn, how Passages cited out of *Scymnus*, are agreeable to this Work; and that, as he wrote of *Europe* and *Asia*, so he designed the Description of *Africa*, and so of all the then known World, tho' probably never accomplished. The chief Author he made use of was *Eratosthenes*, but withall he appeals to his own Knowledge. This Work is not so perfect as it came out of his own Hands. He designed an Historical Account of the Cities he wrote of, and of the Time in which they were built, out of Historians. *Dionysius* of *Chalcis* wrote of that Subject; also *Ephorus*, *Timæus*, &c. *Holstenius* published this Author from MSS.

IV. THE Author of the Book of Rivers was *Plutarch*, but not proved by *Maussacus* to be him
of

of *Charonæa*, by Arguments produced by him; particularly that of the Style of the Lesser *Parallels*, that is shewn to be different from his Style in other of his Works, but not hereby to be proved to be none of his, it being likely from other Proofs. Nothing can be gathered who the Author of this Book of Rivers is from the Style, in that he used the Words of the Authors he cites, not his own. What *Stobæus* has, that are the same with this Author's, were not taken from him, but from such that he made use of; many of which are since lost. *Stobæus* was not so much before *Photius*; this Author of Rivers is shewn to be later than both of them, nay, than *Constantine Porphyrogenitus* and *Suidas*. His Lateness is manifested from the Errors he is guilty of, as of making *Hydaspes* the same with *Indus*, borrowed from Fblers of later Ages, such as *Ma-lela*; and of making *Lugdunum* built in a fabulous Age, when that Time was *An. U. C. Varr. 711.* and could not be unknown to *Plutarch Chæron*. His citing of *Clitophon*, mention'd in the Lesser *Parallels*, renders these suspicious: Neither does *Lamprias's* Catalogue prove it, in that the Title that is alledged to that End, was added by some other hand: Especially, when these were unknown to *Stobæus*, (who, tho' he has many the same things as are in those *Parallels*, yet never cites *Plutarch* as the Author of them) and even to *Photius*, and to *Suidas*. Besides, the Stories in those *Parallels* are romantick, which tho' they may have some part true, yet the most part are Fictions, and wholly unknown to *Plutarch* of *Chærona*, and other good Historians; of which
here

here are many Instances, but probably written when *Malela*, *Mennius*, and *Geofry of Monmouth* were in Vogue : And this in Times of *Christianity* : In which also this Author of *Rivers* was written, by his Use of the Word *δαιμονιζόμενος*, *πένοια*, &c. Yea, after *Christianity* was much degenerated, by his recommending the superstitious Use of *Herbs* and *Stones*, most probably in the corrupt Tenth Century. One who uses Phrases, wholly strange to the Age of the *Cheronæan Plutarch*, yet that affected that Name, as did the Author of the *Parallels*, who was probably the same Person.

V. *Agathemerus*. *Agathemerus's* Age being before fixed, when the Time of *Marcian Heracl.* was, here Mr. *Dodwell* considers the Reasonings of *Wendeline* to the contrary, from Astronomical Observations, earlier than *Ptolemy's*, concerning the Obliquities of the *Tropicks*, which came from *Artemidorus*. These Things are considered. The Time of *Artemidorus*. Not the same Person as *Wendeline* supposed : As also his Reasonings ; that they might be borrowed from, or occasioned by what *Ptolemy* had written, which *Agathemerus* had seen, as also his *Geography*, which was written after his *μεγάλη σύνταξις*. And this in the Time of the Emperor *Pius*. *Agathemerus's* Age is shewn from the Use of *Hispania*, which Country the *Greeks* before his Time had called *Iberia*, tho' sometimes *Σπανία*, but he and *Ptolemy* constantly *Hispania*, a Name formerly only used by the *Romans*. The same shewn in the Name of *Gallia*, known before to the *Greeks* by the Name of *Celtica*, and *Galatia*. He was later than *Marcian Heracl.* by whom

whom *Ptolemy* is preferred (as he is by *Agathemerus*) as the most skilful Geographer, (little Notice being taken of *Artemidorus*) and styled *θειότατος*. Of which Title. This was given to Astronomers, and implies that *Ptolemy* was then dead. *Agathemerus* is, from the Bounds assigned to *Dacia*, and the Destruction of *Byzantium*, shewn to live after *Septim. Severus*, and before *Gallienus*. From his making *Babylonia* to belong to the Romans, he must live after *Septim. Severus*, who reduced this into a Roman Province, Anno Domini 201, which was lost again to the Parthians by *Macrinus*, Anno 217. In which Time *Agathemerus* wrote. It could not be after, is shewn by the Roman Affairs in After-Times, to *Gallienus*. His Time is also shewn, from his making *Marseilles* the Bounds of *Liguria*, suitably to *Solinus*, who wrote Anno 230. *Agathemerus*'s Computation of Miles, is by 7 *Stadia* and a half: In one place 8 *Stadia*, where the Bounds of the habitable World, as 'twas supposed in his Time, are assign'd by *Agathemerus*: And the Measure of *Schæni*, and that then 'twas used, and consisted of 30 *Stadia*.

VI. THE *Excerptor* out of *Strabo*. This Man is shewn to be later than *Ptolemy* and *Arrian*, by his citing of them; and then *Marcian*, in that he is not mentioned by him when there was occasion for it. We find no such Abridgers as this, before the Fourth Century. This was written not so much as an Epitomizer, as a Collector of what he judged most useful in *Strabo*, which he therefore called *χρησιμώτατα*. The first of this Kind, mention'd by *Photius*,

Photius, was *Proclus*, who lived in the latter End of the Fifth Century, and *Helladius Besant.* in the Beginning thereof: But this, probably, of much later Age, such as what Mr. *Dodwell* mention'd about the *Baroccian MS.* at a Time when *Macedon* and *Greece* were possessed by the *Sclavi*. Of whom the *Avari* were a Part. The first Mention of their Inroads, was under *Theodosius* the Younger, Anno 449. After, under *Justin II.* After, under *Mauricius*, Anno 593, and 600. But never as yet having their Habitation any where but beyond *Ister*. In *Heraclius's* Time they got Possession of *Dalmatia*. After, these and the *Bulgari*, under *Constantine Pogonatus*, possessed all the Countries South of *Danubius* from *Dalmatia* to the *Euxine Sea*, Anno 679. His Son *Justinianus Rhinotmetus* much suppressed these People. After this, are recounted several Wars and Transactions with those Northern People, under the Emperors of *Constantinople*, till the Time of *Basilus*; wherein *Zonaras* and *Cedrenus* testify, that they got the Possession of *Greece*, and even of *Peloponnesus*. This Writing is shewn from several Circumstances, to be betwixt the Years 976 and 996, in that, after this latter Year, the *Constantinopolitans* had vanquished those Northern Nations.

'Tis probable he was not after that Time, in that only one barbarous Word *πίξια* occurs in his Work.

Mr. *Dodwell* has at the End, a farther Proof, that the *Plutarch* who wrote of *Rivers*, was not *Plutarch of Cheronæa*.

IN the *Third Volume* of Geographers, Mr. *Dodwell* gives us only an Account of *Dionysius Periegetes*. That he was not *Dionysius* whom *Pliny* mentions, of *Characene*, in that this *Dionysius* never mentions this Country, which he would have done, had it been his own: No Roman Subject, as this was: One elder than this, who mentions the *Nasamones* safe in their own Country, which was destroyed under *Domitian*. Here much of that Nation is recounted, and of their Removal into *Marmorica* before *Ptolemy* wrote, which was in the Time of *Antoninus Pius*, and of their Country lying desolate unto the Time of *Gordian III*. Seeing this *Dionysius Periegetes* mentions some Roman (*'Αναξ*) Emperor conquering the *Parthians*, (the several Victories over whom are here specified) it must be *Trajan*, and consequently this Poet could not write before the latter End of his Reign, at which Time the Victory was obtained. Seeing he calls *Rome* the Mother of all other Cities, this could not be before *Caracalla*, who made all other Subjects of the *Roman Empire* free Citizens of *Rome*. His calling *Rome* the House of *Kings*, may intimate the Associates of Government which Emperors took in, and that therefore he lived not till that was used. Seeing he passes over in Silence the renowned City of *Byzantium*, he must write after the Time of *Septimius Severus*, who destroyed its Walls, and reduced it to a Village, called *Antonina*. The Name of *Byzantium*, and the Walls thereof, were restored by *Gallienus*; and therefore this Poet wrote before that Time. He was not the same with *Dionysius Byzant-*

Byzantinus; for he wrote only of *Bosphorus Thracius*, and in Prose: Nor *Dionysius Mitylenæus*, for he lived before *Julius Cæsar*; nor *Dionysius Milesius*, who was much elder; nor *Dionysius* the Son of *Musonius*. All of whom are mentioned by *Suidas*, and as such who wrote περιγῆσις of the World, but in Prose. There is another, indeed, mentioned by him, who wrote in Verse, viz. *Dionysius Corinthius*. All later Authors that mention a *Dionysius*, who wrote a *Periegesis*, are shewn to mean the Author of this *Periegesis*, by Passages cited out of it: Tho' some, not exactly the same with the Poem we have; of which Difference the Reasons are assigned. One mentioned by *Tzetzes* is here considered.

THERE are some Words of this Poet preserved by *Stephanus*, which we have not now in our Books, (there being a manifest *Lacuna*) concerning the City of *Emisa*, paraphrased by *Festus Avienus*. In this City there was a Temple, dedicated to the Sun, which this Poet celebrates, for which the Emper or *Elagabalus* had a peculiar Veneration. From which Mr. *Dodwell* gathers, that this *Dionysius* wrote in that vile Emperor's Time, into whose Favour he endeavoured to insinuate himself by the Encomiums he gives to his Temple. Mr. *Dodwell* takes Notice of the great Liberties that the Paraphrasts on this Poet used; notwithstanding which, that might be true which *Festus Avienus* here inserts, seeing herein he agrees with *Stephanus*; and for as much as there seems to be somewhat wanting in *Dionysius*; particularly, with respect to the Situation of *Emisa*,
A a rightly

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rightly supplied by *Festus Avienus*. That *Alexandria* was the Country of this Poet, cannot be deduced from his beginning his *Periegesis* with *Libya*; shewn from the Example of others: Nor from *Pliny's* making one *Dionysius* to be born at *Charax Spasines*, sometimes called *Alexandria*. [Where of the Name of *Spasines* being an Hereditary Title to the Kings of *Susiana*.] That *Bithynia* was his Country, cannot be inferred from his celebrating the River *Rhebia*, other Reasons being assigned for it. Nor any thing from the Use of *ὑπὲρ*, here largely explained as used by Geographers. It is most probable he was a *Corinthian*, there being one of that City that wrote a *Periegesis* in Verse, and no Poet is ever named as such but this: And also, seeing he speaks of himself as a *Roman*, and *Corinth* mas made a *Roman* Colony by *Julius Caesar*; of which, therefore, *Rome* must be the *Metropolis*, and the Inhabitants of *Corinth* from thenceforth *Romans*.





CHAP. XXXI.

Of the Lawfulness of Instrumental Musick in Holy Offices.



HERE having a pretended Answer been made to a Sermon, which defended the Lawfulness of *Organs* in the Christian Church, as the Reverend Mr. *Newte* gave an Answer to some popular Objections therein, as that of being *Popish*, (wherein he shews the Sense of other *Protestant* Churches from their Practice) and this by way of *Preface*; so Mr. *Dodswell* in the *Treatise*, professedly proves the *Lawfulness* of *Instrumental Musick* in *Holy Offices*. Because the *Apostles* themselves joined in the (a) *Temple* Worship, and therefore in *Hymns*, and consequently, with the *Instrumental Musick* to which those *Hymns* were sung: This they would not have done, had they known of any *new Revelation* forbidding it under the *new Peculium*: Yet this they did, after they had declared against the Imposition of the Law on *Gentile* Profelytes. This they permitted, not only to the *Jewish* Christians, but also to the *Gentiles*, so far as it was in their Power, as being yet *one Peculium* with the *Jews*, and Partakers of the *mystical*

(a) *Vide Discourse of Occasional Communion.*

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Benefits of the *Temple* Solemnities, tho' without being admitted into the *Peculium* by *Circumcision*. Our Adversaries cannot shew in the *New Testament*, any *Prohibition* of Instrumental Musick in God's Service to take Place, when the Dependence of the *Christian Church* on the *Jewish Establishment* should expire: Nor make it deducible from any Reasonings in the *New Testament*. They find not that any thing was to be antiquated under the new Dispensation, because practised under the old. No, the *Apostles* reason from the *Old Testament* to the *New*: This is shewn in *S. Paul's* arguing for the Maintenance of *CHRIST's* Ministers, *1 Cor. ix.* Against Christians marrying those of another Communion, *1 Cor. vii. 14.* This is shewn to be a thing most likely to be done by the *Apostles*, considering their Education, their Zeal for the Law, their not admitting Innovations without evident Revelations. There's no Testimony in the *New Testament*, that all the Ceremonial Precepts of the Law were to be abrogated under the Gospel: That *Christian Churches* might not resume those Rites, if they judged them edifying in their own Circumstances. The great thing the *Apostles* insist on, with respect to the *Mosaick Law*, was, that the *Gentiles* were to be admitted into the new *Peculium* without any Obligation to observe the Law of *Moses* as imposed on the *Jewish Nation*, and without incorporating themselves into the particular Nation of the *Jews*: And, consequently, the No-necessity of *Circumcision*, *Baptism* being sufficient to admit *Cornelius*, &c. into the new *Peculium*, *Acts x. xi.* This was, consequently, a Repeal of the old Dispensation,

spensation, so far as it was *inconsistent*, even with the Revelations of the *Old Testament*, which speaks of a *New Covenant*, that was to *succeed* upon the Abrogation of the *Old*: And hence a Repeal of the *Old*, so far as the Practice thereof was inconsistent with the Practice of the *New*. Such were *Circumcision*, Dependence on the *Temple Sacrifices*, abstaining from certain *Meats* forbidden to the *Jews*, never to the *Gentiles*. The *Jews* insisting on the *Gentile Converts* Observation of these things, made it impossible for both to *coalesce* into *one Body*, as the *new Revelations* of the *Gospel* required. Hence they became *unlawful*. There's no Pretence, therefore, of condemning other things as unlawful, because then used; especially, things at that Time agreed to by the *Gentiles* themselves as lawful, as the Use of *Instrumental Musick* in their Sacrificial Hymns, was. The Observance of such things wherein they did not differ, could not have made any Breach betwixt them. The *Shaking*, Heb. xii. 26. implied the *Removal* of whatever hindred the Incorporation of the *Gentiles*, which supposed them confined to the *Mosaical* Constitutions; but nothing hindred but that others might *remain*, and might be used, tho' not on a *Mosaick* Sanction, yet, as being *indifferent* things, by an *Ecclesiastical* Sanction: Amongst which is this of *Instrumental Musick*. The Apostles, were so far from making indifferent things *unlawful* upon Account of their being *formerly imposed*, that they frequently allow a Reasoning from the *abolished* Constitution of the *Law*, to that which answer'd it under the *Gospel*. As, 1 Cor. ix. 9, 10. Such things will
A 2 3 still

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still oblige as *Laws*, whilst the same Reason continues for which God was pleas'd at first to impose them. We may accordingly argue, that if *Instrumental* Musick was used in the *Temple* Sacrifices, it may at least be still *acceptable* in our *Eucharistical* Sacrifices; no *Sacrifices* being more proper for *Hymns* than those that were Eucharistical. 'Tis certain, that *Hymns* were used in the Assemblies of the first Christians. *Singing* was used, as that which naturally raises the Affections; and *Instrumental* Musick has the same Influence; it disposed *Elisha* to receive the Influences of the *Good Spirit*, and probably was thence received into the *Schools* of the *Prophets*, 1 *Sam.* x. 5. 1 *Chron.* xxv. 1, 3. where this *Singing* to *Instruments* is called *Propheying*. Hence *Instrumental* Musick is not improper for a *spiritual* Dispensation. The Institution of it became beneficial, not by the Interposition of *extraordinary Divine* Providence, (as in some Cases here named;) but by the *natural* Efficacy it has on the Affections. Thus deemed by *Saul's* Servants, 1 *Sam.* vi. 16. used as such by *Elisha*; and this without any Revelation. Upon this Reason used by *Heathens*. *Chearfulness* of Temper is supposed, in the *New Testament*, to dispose for the Influences of the *Good Spirit*: To this, both *Instrumental* and *Vocal* Musick contribute; and it doth it *now* as well as *formerly*. Hence this *Hypothesis* is not *Temporary*.

HERE (§. 12.) Mr. *Dodwell* considers, how both *good*, and likewise *evil Spirits*, act upon Mankind: How far these latter are restrained by *God*: How both may act on the *Understanding*,

standing, and on the *material* Faculties: That a lively *Imagination*, as well as good *Understanding*, was (in the *Jews* Opinion) requisite to dispose for the *Spirit* of *Prophecy*: That the *Imagination* should be calm and sedate; [whence *Heathenish* Divinations of *Pythia*, &c. were by the first *Christians* ascribed to malignant Spirits, on Account of their Brutish *Transports*.] That grateful Tunes of (*Instrumental* as well as *Vocal*) Musick, contributes much to the allaying the *Passions*, and subjecting the *Imagination* to the nobler *Faculties*. *Evil Spirits* were not in the *Apostles* Days, as since, judged so free from *Matter*; hence their Power was conceived to be over the *Imagination*, and the *material* Faculties depending on it. Hence *Madnesses* are ascribed to the *Devil*, John x. 20. and vii. 20. and viii. 48, 52. Thus represented by *Greek* Poets, the Personators of the eldest Antiquity, and as the Punishment of *piacular* Persons. Other *Maladies* were ascribed to the *Devil*, especially those whose Seat was in the *Brain*, which was thought liable to the *Devil's* Influences, and in the *spinal Marrow*, which, when corrupted, was thought to be turned into a *Serpent*, the Symbol of the *Devil*. *Divine Prophecy* was generally thought to require *Imagination*, but duly subordinated to the nobler Faculties; but *Diabolical Enthusiasm* went no farther than the *Imagination*, and therefore disordered the *Understanding*. *Instrumental* Musick affects the *Imagination*, so as to compose or disorder it, and therefore may disable *Devils* to influence it, if their Power be confined by Providence to disposed *Matter*. And *Musick* may in-

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dispose the *Imagination* for their Influences, if it be not in their Power to make or hinder Dispositions.

NEXT is shewn, how such a Notion of the *Spiritualness* of our Religion as makes us incapable of *sensible* Assistances, is fundamentally *inconsistent* with the Doctrine of the *Apostolical* Age: This is plain, from the Institution of *Sacraments*, from the Use of *Vocal* Musick, and from GOD's requiring the Worship of our *Bodies*, 1 Cor. vi. 19, 20. The Opinion of *Porphyry*, &c. making the *Body* the *Prison* of the Soul, and discharging it from any Share in *Religions*, seems to be the Original of the several *Euthusiasts* (here named) that decry'd *external* Ordinances. The *mystical* *Rising* from Sin, was that by which the *Heretics*, condemned by the Apostles, would have evaded the *Resurrection* of the *Body*: And others, from their *spiritual* Way of Worship, condemned *Marriage*. Both of these are condemned by the *Apostles*. In the next place is shewn, that the *same* *Reasons* that prove *bodily* Worship useful in the *Mosaick* Dispensation, prove it to be so *now*. We have *Souls* as much dependent on the *Body*, as they had, and as much influenced by the same Means. We are to worship God in Assemblies, as they were, and to be *edified* by sensible Significations, by which they can mutually give, and receive Edification, and such as testify the highest Respect to the most perfect Being. That of *John* iv. 24. --- *They that worship God, must worship him in Spirit and Truth*, is shewn to be spoken, not as opposed to that which is *sensible* and *corporeal*, but to the *literal* Sense of the Law
of

of *Moses*: That the *mystical* Sense was that which was truly intended by God, and the *Literal* no otherwise than as conveying the *Mystical*; *Truth* being here opposed to *Shadow*. That the Confinement of the Worship of God to one Place, either *Jerusalem* or Mount *Gerizim*, was disagreeable to the Nature of the Worship of the Gospel. That every City was to be equal with these, and the Bishops of particular Cities equal with the High-Priest of *Jerusalem*, both in Consecration of Places to God's Worship, and the Exercising the Supreme Power of the Evangelical Mystical Sacrifice within their own Jurisdictions: So that from this Text nothing can be rationally objected against *Instrumental Musick*, in that it is not inconsistent with the *Spiritual Nature* of the Gospel Worship, in that it is not opposed to the *Bodily*, but the *Literal* Sense of the Law of *Moses*, when it interferes with the *Mystical*. Gospel Institutions, and hence *Spiritual*, viz. Baptism and the Lord's Supper, are yet Sensible and Corporeal. Farther Mr. *Dodwell* shews, that as *Pomp* and *Magnificence* were pleasing to God under the *Mosaick* Dispensation, so no Text of Scripture can be produced to shew them to be otherwise under the Gospel. Our Saviour's approving of the *Anointing* the *Temple* of His Body, and the commending this before *Liberality* to poor Christians, even then when so many, shews His Judgment of what should be done to *Material* Temples, that should afterwards be consecrated to His Worship. The *Simplicity* of the Gospel is consistent with *Magnificence*, that signifying *Sincerity* in *Opposition* to *Double-Dealing*; and the
single

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single Eye denotes *Bounty*, and hence rather countenances than discourages *Magnificence*.

NEXT the pretended ill Consequence of Restoring Instrumental Musick is considered, viz.

I. THAT hereby *Dancing* to it may be restored. (1.) *Dances* not in themselves unlawful, used by *David*. [*Levity* falsely objected to such as are grave.] (2.) If not used, yet not condemned in the Time of *Ignatius*. 'Twas approv'd by the *Pythagoreans*, who were follow'd by the *Essenes*, many of whose Customs were follow'd by *Christians*. The Harpers (*Rev. v. 8.*) represent the Christian Worship, as then in *Fact*, between the Destruction of the Temple, and their new Troubles under *Domitian*.

II. IT is not rightly inferred, that *Circumcision* might as well be restored. Nothing is to be restored, that is repugnant to the Constitution of the *New Peculium*. This *Instrumental Musick* is not, but 'tis evident that *Circumcision*, and so *Bloody Sacrifices* are; because their End was to incorporate into the *Jewish Nation*, contrary to the Privileges of the *New Peculium*. Tho' the *Colchians* and *Egyptians* used *Circumcision*, yet not as a Right of Admission into the peculiar People of God, which other Nations never pretended to.

III. NOR yet *Bloody Sacrifices*. One great Design of our *Evangelical Eucharistical Sacrifices*, was to unite all Nations into *One Body*. None were capable of the *Jewish Sacrifices*, but that One only Nation, that of the *Jews*; [which was likewise the Case of other *National Sacrifices*;] and hence could not unite all Nations into *One Body*. The *Unbloody Sacrifices* of the *Pythagoreans*,

goreans, and from them of the *Essenes*, made these the easilier embrace Christianity, especially when founded on the *everlasting* Priesthood of *Melchizedeck*, whose Oblations were only *Bread* and *Wine*, the same with our *Eucharist*, typified in *Manna*, the Bread from Heaven. From whence proceeded the *Union* betwixt the *Church Triumphant* and *Militant*, and other Unions here mention'd.

NEXT the Vanity of that Objection is shewn, of the Danger of admitting any *Impositions*, tho' of Things lawful, for fear of farther *Impositions* and *Rigours* that may thence ensue afterwards. A Body Politick cannot subsist without Government, nor Government subsist without a Right of imposing in Things indifferent, and must be allowed to judge concerning the Exigencies of the Society, and of the Mean betwixt what is deficient, and what is superfluous. If there be Excess, the Authority will be responsible for it, not the Subject. Here the ill Consequences of *Comprehension* are shewn.

Revel. xviii. 22. where 'tis foretold of *Babylon*, that the *Voice of Harpers and Musicians, and of Pipers and Trumpeters, shall be heard no more*. This is urged, without Reason, against Instrumental Musick. Such Prophecies are not to be understood till fulfilled, that they might not give Warning to them who were to fulfill 'em. Farther, this is to be understood as a Prophecy, not as a Law; a Prediction of an Event, not as a Determination of what is lawful or unlawful. 'Tis a Description of a State truly calamitous, as what follows plainly shews; and therefore, granting

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ing this to be understood of *Antichrist*, it proves not the *Sinfulness* of what Men were then deprived of, but the *Calamity* of the Deprivation.

NEXT Dr. *Lightfoot's* Observation is considered, viz. That *Christ abolished the Worship of the Temple as purely ceremonious; but perpetuated that of the Synagogue, Reading the Scripture, &c. and transplanted it into the Christian Church as purely moral.* Synagogues, probably, after the Return from Captivity, were used instead of the *Schools* of the *Prophets*, of which the People seem to have made the same use, as they did after of the *Synagogues*. If so, the whole Synagogue-way of Worship must have been settled by *prudential* Provisions, which alone could take place upon the Failing of the *Spirit of Prophecy*; consequently no Pretence is left to *Divine Revelation* for this Way of Worship. If this is pretended, they cannot shew where 'tis written. Farther, there's no *Text* to prove that CHRIST has perpetuated this Way of Worship; neither does the Nature of the Thing evince it to be a Dictate of the *Moral Law*. *Singing* of Psalms cannot be proved such, especially if its Efficacy to promote Devotion proceeds from *Divine Institution*, as our Adversaries assert, and not from its own *Nature*. [Where the Moral Law, and its Obligation, is consider'd.] Neither can it be shewn, that every Particular of the *Temple* Worship, must, for that only Reason, because it was *so*, be *unlawful* now. The Use of *Lots* was taken by the Apostles from the Use thereof in the *Temple*.

INSTRUMENTAL Musick is pretended to be proved abolished, because it was a *Shadow* of our Praising

Praising GOD with the *Organs* of our Bodies under the *Gospel*. It could not signify something that was to *come*, in that the *Jews* at that Time used the Worship of the *Organs* of their *Bodies*, together with their Instrumental Musick; their *Mouths* they used in Singing, and their *Feet* in Religious *Dances*. Farther, this cannot be proved that Instrumental Musick was a *Shadow*, or *Type*, of our Organical Worship under the *Gospel*. 'Tis not enough to presume, that all Usages that were not *moral*, must needs be such Types. The Reasons of many of them were adapted to the Exigencies of that Nation, and many to fortify them against the *Vices* themselves were inclined to, and against the Vices of their *Neighbour Nations*, and the like Reasons. It was the Custom of those earliest Ages, to deliver Moral Duties under *Mystical Symbols*, (as those of *Pythagoras*) as *Philo* and *S. Barnabas* understood the Prohibiting the *Jews* to eat several *Animals*. These were thus delivered, to dispose the Hearers to receive them with the greater Reverence: But the Symbols that were to be *abolished* under the *Gospel* were of another Nature, to prefigure a *new* Innovation of the *Gospel*, which should in course repeal some Customs the *Jews* were in Possession of, as *inconsistent* with it. Such could not be the Singing with the *Organs* of our *Body*, shadowed by the old *inanimate* Organs; in that *Vocal* Musick was then in use, together with *Instrumental*, and no ways *inconsistent* with any other received Custom of theirs.

INSTRUMENTAL Musick is far from being a *Shadow*, when 'tis mention'd in *Heaven*, *Rev. v. 8.*
and

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and reckoned thereby among the *Heavenly Archetypes*, which were the *Truth*, and the *Body* that answer'd those *Shadows*. *Heavenly Things* are opposed to these, of which these were only the *Shadows*, *Hebr. viii. 5.* Consequently, if *Harping* have any Place in *Heaven*, it cannot be reckon'd among the *Shadows* of the *Mosaick Law* which were to be *abolished*; *Heavenly Things* being supposed to be *eternal*, *2 Cor. iv. 8.* and *v. 2.* (as the *Platonists* supposed their *Idea* to be) and to *remain*, *μὲνειν*, after *Shaking*, *Heb. xii. 27.* Whereas, farther, the *Gospel-State* in the *New Testament* is supposed to be the same with the *Celestial Patterns*, in Imitation of which the *Mosaick Dispensation* was formed: And hence the *Things* of the *Gospel* are called the *Things themselves*, and the *true Things*: And likewise *Eternal*, in Opposition to the *Things* answering them under the *Mosaick Law*.

As for what is farther urged by the *Condemners* of *Instrumental Musick*, that, in the *Revelations*, *Odours* are joined with *Harpers*, and joined with the *Publick Prayers*, as among the *Jews*. *Mr. Dodwell* thought then, that *Incense* might have been used by the *Apostles* after the *Destruction* of the *Temple*; but since that *Time* his *Thoughts* were altered, as may be seen in one of his last *Traacts*, entituled, *Incensing no Apostolical Tradition*. Of which afterwards.

It suffices what he concludes *Seet. 28* with: We can discharge ourselves from the *Obligation* of such *Things*, tho' we believe them *lawful*. By being excused from *Circumcision*, we *Gentiles* are discharged from all the *Impositions* God was pleased

pleased to lay on the *Jewish* Nation, since we are not obliged to any *Incorporation* with them.

THE next thing Mr. *Dodwell* takes Notice of, is, that the Reasonings of some of the ancient *Fathers* is the same which his Adversary makes use of in condemning Instrumental Musick; particularly *S. Chrysostome*, the Author of *Quæst. ad Orthodox.* (probably *Justinus Siculus*) and others, who speak of Instrumental Musick as only befitting a State of *Childhood*, and hence not the *Gospel-State*. We are to distinguish betwixt the Reasonings and Testimonies of the Fathers. For the first, they had no more Advantage than other Men; especially when, being much later than the Apostles, they have no Precedent of this Reasoning in the *Apostolick* Age; but the contrary, in that *Harpers* are mention'd by the Apostle as in *Heaven*, and hence not among the *Rudiments* of *Children*, at a Time when Christians were arrived at the *Fulness* of the *Measure* (*ἡλικίας*) of the *Age* of *Christ*. Supposing this Musick proper for the *Jerusalem* Sacrifices, there could be no Pretence thereto in any other Christian Church besides that of *Jerusalem*, where the first *Apostle* had the same Right over all other Churches, as the High-Priest had over all the *Jewish* Synagogues. Hence Instrumental Musick might have been reserved to the *Apostolical* Church, till that Church was extinguished by the *Death* of the last *Apostles*. After which Time, all other Churches might have taken up that same Custom, but were unlikely to do it, having never till that Time used it: And for any one single Church to have done so, when the rest did it not, would have been

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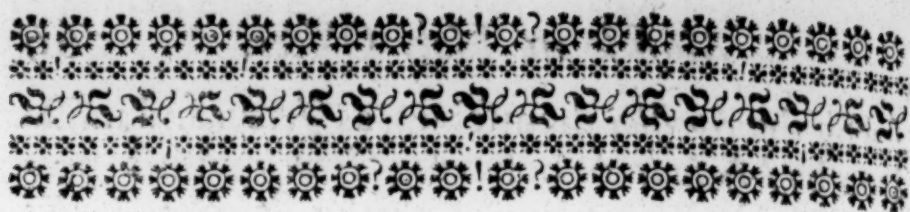
been thought *assuming*. Hence it came to be discontinued without any *Dislike* of it. The Reasons of which the following Ages enquiring into, were ready to impute it to its *Disagreeableness* to the Dignity of the *New Peculium*; tho' contrary to the Reasoning of the *Apostolick* Age. The Reasoning of the Apostles from a State of *Non-Age*, was not to prove the *Externals* of the *Mosaick* Law to be *unlawful*, but the Unreasonableness of *Stopping* at them, so as not to admit the farther Discoveries of the Gospel, *Gal. iii. 24.* and *iv. 4, 9, 25, 26.* These, and the like Expressions in the *New Testament*, import, that the *mystical* Benefits represented and covenanted for by the Legal Symbols, were never supposed to be performed by the Symbols themselves, otherwise than as they *represented* and *applied* the *Archetypes* answering them under the Gospel, and therefore *useless* when separated from those *Archetypes*, *Heb. x. 4.* *Gal. vi. 15.* From which we may understand the true Reason why the Legal Symbols are called *weak ἀσθενῆ*, and *beggarly πτωχὰ*, in Opposition to the *πλεῖτος*, the Riches of the *Spiritual* Benefits, which are to be expected only from the Rites under the Gospel, which were to *succeed* those Legal Symbols. These Expressions thus explain'd, as opposite to the *Jewish* Notions, are shewn to conclude nothing to the Purpose of those *Fathers*, they being against them who would not come over to the *Christian* Communion, because they would not communicate with *uncircumcised* Persons; or were inclined to a *Defection* from it, out of their *Zeal* for their whole *Law*; seeing that in the mean time these Rudiments were
used

used by the *Apostles* themselves, as *Jews*, and insisted on by *Myriads* of believing *Jews*, with a perfect good Understanding with the *Apostles*, (*Acts* xxi. 20, 23, 24.) when used without any Design of Defection from Christianity. The *Apostles* Reasoning extends to no other *Jewish* Customs, but those only which were thought to entitle to some *mystical* Benefits represented and conveyed by them, till *GOD* had declared it otherwise by his new *Revelations*. If therefore our *Adversaries* will make Instrumental Musick as a Shadow, or a Rudiment, they must bethink themselves of some *mystical* Benefit represented and conveyed by it under the *Law*, and now conveyed by some other Institution succeeding it under the Gospel; this being absolutely requisite to make it now an empty *Shadow*, and a weak and beggarly *Element*. And what may that be? Is it the Admitting us to the Joys of the *Heavenly Society* represented by *Instrumental Musick*? And why may not the like Use of Instrumental Musick entitle us to that now, as well as represent it? The *Weakness* and *Beggarliness* of what would otherwise have been useful, do more concern our *Adversaries* than us, who practise even their *Vocal Musick*, as the *Jews* did, in a *Separation* from the truly original *Apostolical Constitution*.

THIS Discourse was written about the Year 1698.

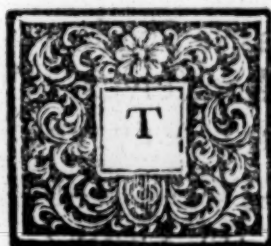
THE Organ, which occasion'd the Dispute, was set up at *Tiverton*, in the Year 1696.

THE Second Edition of Mr. *Dodwell's* Discourse, was in the Year 1700.



CHAP. XXXII.

A Discourse against Marriages in different Communions.



THE judicious and learned Mr. Charles Lesley, having a Purpose to publish a Sermon, which he had preached 12 Years before at Chester, against *Marriages* in different *Communions*, sent it to Mr. Dodwell; who returned it, not only with his just Approbation of so useful a Subject so strenuously handled, but also with his own Thoughts thereupon, *An. Dom. 1702.* The Argument that Mr. Dodwell insists on, is the Duty of Marrying within the *Peculium*. In order to which, (besides the Usefulness thereof in other respects) he largely considers the Nature of the *Peculium*, styled in Scripture the *Holy Seed*; by which is meant “that particular *Nation*, which the Supreme Being had chosen out of all the Nations of the World to Himself, in a Way proper to them alone, and which no Nation besides could pretend to.” He supposes, in respect to *National Religions*, that each *Nation* had a *God* peculiar to itself; that there were *mutual Stipulations* on each Side, whereby the *God* covenanted to be their *God*, to protect and promote the Welfare

fare of that People, and that the Nation should pay their *publick Acknowledgments*, which were imposed on the whole Nation as *Conditions* of their being *protected*. These like to *Matrimonial Stipulations*, imply'd in the Name *Baal*, given to their Deities. Tho' the Name is *refused* by God, because *given* to His *Rivals*; yet not the *Relation*, GOD frequently styling Himself the *Husband* of *Israel*, and CHRIST the *Bridegroom* of the Church, His *Bride*. This intimated in many Expressions of the Holy Scriptures: The Non-Performance of the People's Part called *Whoredom*, &c. The Words used to express the *Obligation* betwixt God and His People, are *covenanting Terms*, such as *νομιμία*. Thus in the *old*, and thus in the *Gospel-Covenant*. In the former, *Circumcision* was a *Token* of GOD's *Covenant* with His People, and *Sacrifices*, especially *ἐντόμια*, the Peoples imprecating the like on themselves, if they violated their Parts of the *Covenant*. In the *new Covenant*, *Baptism* was managed by Way of *Question* and *Answer*, according to the Form of a *Roman Stipulation*: And the *Lord's Supper* was understood by *Pliny*, as an *Obligation* that *Christians* laid on themselves to the Performance of the *Duties* of their Religion. God might, as He was *Supreme Sovereign*, by His *absolute Empire*, and by the *Terror* of the *Consequences* of *Disobedience*, have obliged Mankind to *Obedience*: Yet He was pleased so far to condescend, as to treat with Mankind upon the equal Terms of *Giving* and *Receiving Securities* for Performance of *Conditions* on both parts, by the same Way that Men had been used to in those early Times of *Covenanting*.

nanting. Now in doing this, He did not content Himself with the Security *Individuals* were capable of giving Him, but also took in the Security of the *Body* itself, in that the Favours promised by God, concerned the *Prosperity* of the whole *Body*. This *Body*, by this Covenanting, became God's *Peculium*. Now this Security to be given to God on Man's part, was to be given by them who had a *Right* to oblige the *Body* with which the *Covenant* was made. *Joshua* undertakes for himself and his Family. Thus the *Elders* who out-lived *Joshua*, kept the *Israelites* firm in the Worship of the True God, being *Governors* of their own *Tribes*, who acted then *separately*, when there was *no King in Israel*, i. e. no Governor of the whole Nation, [which, tho' placed in the latter End of *Judges*, respected the Time immediately after *Joshua*.] Here Mr. *Dodwell* shews what Interest *Kings* among the *Romans* and *Greeks* had in their *National Religions*; and how this obliged them when they extirpated *Kings*, yet to preserve the *Name* of a *King*, who might officiate in those *Rites*, which had been appropriated to their *Kings*: That the Denying God the *Right* of *Naming* the *Governors* in *Israel*, and hereby the *Security* he had for Performance of the *Covenant* on the *Peoples* part, was the Thing God was displeased with, when they asked a *King*, as being inconsistent with His own *Kingship*, by their having *Hereditary Kings*. Their Government was before that *Monarchical*. *Moses* was a *Monarch*, and so was *Joshua*, and all the *Judges*: And so were the *Heads* of the *Tribes*, when they acted separately. It was only
the

the *Hereditary Succession* that God was displeased with, as 'twas *inconsistent* with His *Sovereignty*, and His *Right* of Setting Kings over them: As appears in the Case of *Gideon*, *Judg. viii. 22, 23*. Before *Saul's* Time God reserved to Himself the *Right* of Nominating the *Supreme Governors*, who He took care should be such as would *secure* the *National Covenant*; being not content with the *Security* of *separate Individuals*, without that *greater Security* which might be given Him by *Governors*.

THO' no *Governors* were so much regarded, as those with whom the *Covenant* was originally made, who took in the whole Body that descended from them. The *first Covenant* for a *Peculium*, after the Flood, was made with *Abraham*, whose private Family was afterwards to become a *Nation*; which *Peculium* was properly expressed by the Name of a *Seed*, when descending from *one common Ancestor*; tho', by *Legal Acts*, *Slaves* might be emancipated, and *Strangers* adopted into the *Privilege of Sons*, and so accounted of *Abraham's Seed*, as well as they that had their *Lineal Extraction* from him. Now these, being devoted to the *Worship* of the *Supreme Being*, were on that Reason accounted *Holy*, *Holiness* being one of His *appropriated Attributes*; no other Beings, worshipped by other Nations, being thus to be esteemed, when compared with the *Holiness* of their infinitely perfect Creator, and hence could not communicate this to their *Worshippers*. But God's *Peculium* are called a *Holy Seed*, a *Holy People*; and the *Israelites* a *Kingdom of Priests*; which intimated, that the meanest

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Israelite was equal to that of the highest of the *Gentile Priests*, as being a *Member* of the true *Peculium*. This was *Abraham's* immediate Design in his *Covenant* with the *Supreme Being*, that he might have a flourishing *Seed*; the Want of a *Son* being his great Complaint, and *God's* granting this the great *Specimen* of His Favour; as the *Belief* of *God's* Promise hereof the most celebrated Act of *Abraham's* Faith, next to that of his Readiness to offer up this *Son*, to whom the Promise was confined, at *God's* Command. The *Token* of the *Covenant* was in the *Fore-skin* of his *Flesh*, to signify the Relation it had to his *Descendants*. *Abraham's* Design in Covenanting with *God*, was to entitle the *Nation* that should descend from him to the *Protection* of so powerful a *Patron*; for which Reason he obliges his Posterity to perform the *Duties* expected of them as Conditions of this Patronage, and this on his *Parental Authority*, *Gen. xviii. 19.* and *Gen. xxviii. 4.* *God* gave *Governors* such a *Right* in their *Members*, as they had in their other *Properties*. [Hence the *Faults* of *Governors* made their *Subjects* liable to capital Punishments.] And *God* gave *Parents* a *Right* of *Blessing* or *Cursing* their Posterity, as they deserved, either by their *Obedience* or *Disobedience*, with an *Obligation* on *Providence* to perform their *Blessings*, or to inflict their *Curses*. The earliest Ages were possessed with this Opinion. By a *Nation's* thus becoming a *Holy Seed*, they became entitled to the *Divine Protection*, the Injuries done to them reflecting on *God himself*, when admitted to a Participation of his *Holiness*; and hence, when *humane Justice* fails, *Himself* will undertake

dertake their Cause, and punish their Oppressors by some signal *Providences*. And on the other side, exposed them to severer *Punishment*, if they failed themselves in performing their *Duty*, (*Amos* iii. 2.) on several Reasons here laid down.

HERE *Marriages* out of the *Peculium* are shewn to be derogatory to the *Holy Seed*: And this agreeably to the Sense of the *earliest*, even *Heathen Antiquity*, *Marriages* even with *heathen Nations* were disliked. Hence piously disposed Persons, who had a due Regard to the great Honour done them in being admitted into *Fæderal Holiness*, were careful not to engage in *Marriages* with such that were not thus *Holy*. And likewise on this farther Reason, because there were *impure Sacra* used by *Heathen* Consorts in the Office itself of *Matrimony*. (For those early Ages looked on *Marriage* as a *Religious Act*, and not purely *Secular*.) And withall, as each *Family* had their *Sacred Rites*, and the Taking a *Wife* was admitting her to the *Sacra* of her *Husband's Family*, who, if a *Heathen*, worshipped at least a *Rival Deity*, 2 *Cor.* vi. 14. --- As in *Christian Marriages*, the *Head* of the *Woman* is the *Man*, and the *Head* of the *Man* is *Christ*, --- So in the *Marriage* of an *Infidel*, the *Head* is *Belial*.

THE *first complete* Constitution of a *Holy Seed* was in *Jacob*, (for all *Abraham's* and *Isaac's* Posterity were not such.) *Jacob's Sons* (*Gen.* xxxiv.) positively deny *Marriages* with the *Uncircumcised*. This would have been a *Reproach*, i. e. might have exposed them to *Divine Vengeance*, by allowing the *Devil* their *Adversary's* Plea against them, and so giving him Leave to inflict *Punish-*

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ments on them. Thus *Reproach* is shewn to be taken in Scripture. Hence *Reproaches* are joined with *Curses*.

Moses's Wife was *Zipporah*, stiled an *Ethiopian*, because one of the Eastern *Ethiopia*; a *Midianite*, hence of the Posterity of *Abraham* by *Keturah*; and therefore these, tho' not of the *Peculium*, yet had a great Veneration for the God of their Fore-father *Abraham*, and God had a Regard for them. However, whatever other *Midianites* were, there are great Reasons here laid down, to presume that *Jethro* and his Family were *Profelytes*. There was no Force in *Aaron's* and *Miriam's* Objection against *Zipporah*; nor doth this reach the Case of Marrying out of the *Peculium*.

As for *Samson's* Marrying a *Philistine*; his *Parents* express the Sense of that Age, that in *Conscience* he ought not to marry with a *Nation* that was *uncircumcised*, i. e. out of the *Peculium*, *unclean*. But this Law was *dispensed* with by God, *Judg.* xiv. 3, 4. Possibly a *Prophetical Symbol* of the *Gentiles* being afterwards to be admitted into the *true Peculium*.

THE Marriages of the *Jews*, not meerly the *Priests*, with other *Nations*, in the Times of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, are condemned; and this as a Mingling of the *Holy Seed*; for which God might justly, in His *Anger*, *consume* them; this Sin making them incurr the *Piacular Curses*, to which they became obnoxious by Breach of their *Covenant*.

THAT these Notions concerning the Inconsistency of Marriages out of the *Peculium* with the

the *Holy Seed*, continued among the *Jews* to the Times of the *Apostles*, is shewn from *Josephus*, the *Apocryphal Book of Esdras*, and that of *Tobit*, with respect to *Fact*.

BUT with respect to *Right*, Mr. *Dodwell* urges the Authority of the *New Testament*, and shews, how these *Principles* were believed by the *Converts* to Christianity, and not opposed by the *Apostle*, in the Case they proposed to him, whether *Conversion* to the Christian Religion would not authorize the converted Consort to leave the other, in case they refused to embrace Christianity. Both the *Roman* and *Jewish* Laws permitted *Divorces*, tho' with Differences here specified; the *Roman* to both *Sexes*. When *Judæa* was a *Roman* Province, nothing could restrain them from using this Liberty, but *Conscience*. Our Saviour's new *Law* forbade all *Divorces* but in the Case of *Fornication*, and this even to *Men*. How then could *Women* pretend to it? It must be therefore, from a Belief of the *Principles* aforementioned, viz. that *Marriage* out of the *Peculium* was in itself null and invalid; nay farther, that the Continuance therein was *piacular*. The *Apostle*, in answering them, 1 Cor. vii. denies not these *Principles*, but supposes them. The Question proposed was concerning Persons married, both of them out of the *Peculium*. The *Apostle* answers, by shewing, (1.) That there was no fear of *Seduction* in the Case, but ground for Hope of the *Conversion* of the Infidel Consort. And, (2.) from considering the Objection from the *Holiness* of the *Seed*: Where he supposes, that the Want of this *Holiness* dissolved

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solved such Marriages, but denies, that in this Case it was wanting, in that the *Holiness* of either of the *Parents* was sufficient to make the *Seed* holy; and this evidenced by their *Practice*, in admitting such Children, under the old *Peculium*, to *Circumcision*, and under the new, to *Baptism*. The first was the Case of *Timothy*, Acts xvi. 1, 2, 3. Hence *S. Paul* was not for the dissolving of such Marriages, when *Christianity* found them in *Possession*: Yet withall, he is utterly against contracting Marriages with Persons out of the *Peculium*. It must be *in the Lord*, ver. 39. the Sense of which is shewn, to be a *Member* of *CHRIST's visible Body*, the *Church*. This, *Mr. Dodwell* more fully proves, from 2 Cor. vi. 14. where *S. Paul* bids them not to be *unequally yoked with Unbelievers*, where ἐτεροζυγεῖν is largely interpreted; and that God, by forbidding the yoking together *Beasts* of several *Species*, forbade the absurd yoking of *Mankind*; by *mystical Reasoning*, (like that of *not muzzling the Ox that treadeth out the Corn*, 1 Cor. ix. 9.) which is used by *Philo* and *Josephus*, out of Authors elder than themselves, to the same Purpose: Pertinent to which Reasoning is the Command, *Thou shalt not sow thy Field with mingled Seed*; and that, *A Garment mingled of Linnen and Woollen shall not come upon thee*. *Linnen* was the *Cloathing* of *Priests*, and of *Angels* and *Saints in Heaven*: *Woollen* denoted *Impurity*. And by this is forbidden the *Mixture* of the *Holy* and *Unholy*.

S. Paul farther pursues this, in saying, *For what Fellowship hath Righteousness with Unrighteousness?* Where *Mr. Dodwell* having largely ex-

explained the Sense of *δικαιοσύνη*, as it denotes Conformity to a *Law*, and here, the *Royal Law* of *Faith*, or the Gospel; and of *ἀνομία* the contrary; he shews, that when any are married, they, by passing into the *Family* of the Husband, pass into his *Sacra* also; that 'tis therefore impossible that such, who have thereby professed a Subjection to other *Deities*, should μετέχειν partake of the *Righteousness* of CHRIST, or be *Righteous* by the *Law* of CHRIST, seeing there is required an *universal Obedience* to his *Law*, in the *Consort* professing his *Religion*. S. Paul proceeds; or, *What κοινωνία* (alluding to that of *Marriage*) is there betwixt *Light* and *Darkness*? *Light*, in S. John, is used as a *Symbol* of the Benefits of the true Communion; *Darkness* as a *Symbol* of the miserable State of them that are out of it, [probably, in Allusion to the different States of the *Israelites* and *Egyptians*, Exod. x. and Exod. xiv. 20.] in their disconsolate Condition here, and their being thrown hereafter into *outward Darkness*. The *Consort*, therefore, that is not in the *Light*, must be in *Darkness*, and, consequently, incapable of any *mystical* Communion with the other that is in the *Light*; any more than the *Egyptians* were with the *Israelites*, in the Cases now mentioned. S. Paul's next Words are, or *what συσφώνησις* (which signifies a *Confederacy* betwixt Nations that have been in *Hospitality*) Agreement is there betwixt CHRIST and *Belial*? CHRIST and *Belial*, (that is, the *Devil*) are the *Heads* of the Two *hostile* Parties in our spiritual *Warfare*. In our Entrance hereon in our *Baptism*, we vow to *side* with CHRIST, and *renounce* the *Devil*. To
make

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make any *League* with the Devil, is *Treason* against our *General*: Especially in this Warfare, which admits of no *Reconciliation*; and hence of no *Treaties*. The *Israelites* were forbidden to make *Leagues*, and hence not to contract *Marriages* with the *Canaanites*. Hence even a good King was reprov'd for making *Alliance* with *Ahab*, when he had polluted his own *Seed* by marrying the Daughter of a *Heathen*.

S. Paul adds; *What!* μερίς, betwixt the Believer and the Unbeliever? Believer characterizes the *Seed* of Abraham, in Opposition to that of the *Flesh*, and so denotes a Member of the new *Peculium*. Μερίς denotes the *Matrimonial Portion*, as it implies the *Shares on both Sides*, and these confirmed to each other by legal *Stipulations*: In Allusion hereto, in the mystical *Matrimony* betwixt God and His People, God's People are styled His μερίς, (not as if there was a *Division* of Nations betwixt God and other *Deities*;) Hence there could be no valid *Marriages*, where there could be no *Contributions* on both Sides that might be secured by legal *Settlements*, and hence none in this Case. S. Paul farther urges, *What* συνατάθεσις (which may signify *Matrimonial Assent*) *Agreement* hath the *Temple* of God with *Idols*? q. d. How can that Soul that has received the *Supreme Being* for its *Head* and *Husband* in the mystical Marriage, give her Assent to so odious a *Rival* as an *Idol*, or to the Devil, who was believed to possess that *Idol*, as she must do who married one who had *Communion* with him? especially, when the true God had a *Right* by an antecedent *Possession*? This would make the
true

true God and the Idol *σύνωαι*, which could never be ratified by the GOD of the true *Peculium*. For ye (that is, the *Members* of the true *Peculium*) are the *Temple* of the living God; who, as he is said to *walk* in them, so to *inhabit* in them: As Christians supposed Unbelievers to be possessed by Satan, under whose *Power* they were, and thence to be *exorcised* before they were pure, to receive Holy *Baptism*. Hence is inferred, that God and the *Devil* were made joint *Inhabitants* in those *Marriages* which were contracted with *Consorts* out of the true *Peculium*, and hence *Nullities*. But those Words, *Ye are the Temples of the living God*, have a Relation to what follows; *Wherefore, come out from among them, and be ye separate, and touch not the unclean Thing, and I will receive you*. If they would enjoy that Favour of having God to be *with them*, and receive them; they ought to depart from whatever was *offensive* to Him, and particularly *impure Marriages*: As in the Times of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*.

HERE Mr. Dodwell shews, how the Dependence of the *new Peculium* on the *Seed* of the *Patriarchs*, is very well consistent with the *Revelations* of the *Gospel*: The *Seed* of *Abraham's Flesh* had no Title to the *Covenant* made with him, unless they became the *Seed* of his *Faith*. Tho' there were, in their several Seasons, Two *Peculia*, yet the Design of the *Gospel* was to unite them both into *One Temple*, Eph. ii. 20, 21. The *Gentiles* are represented in the *New Testament*, as called to the same Privileges which the *Jews* were in the *Old*. Our Claim to the *Promises* made

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made to the *Patriarchs*, is, by our being *ingrafted* on the natural *Olive*, Rom. xi. 17, 24. On the *Covenant* made to *Abraham*: On our having more of *that Covenant* in it which is *common* to *us* with the *Jews*, than of that which was *peculiar* to themselves alone. Tho' that *Covenant* brought in *Circumcision*, yet *Abraham's* Righteousness is not ascribed to it, but to his *Faith*, and he became the *Father* of the *Faithful*, independently on his *Circumcision*. Legal Institutions are always ascribed to *Moses*, and the *Law*, the *Works* which are opposed to *Faith*; the Characteristics of the *new Peculium* are never ascribed to *Abraham*, but to *Moses*. But it was the *Blessing* of *Abraham* which was to come on the *Gentiles* by *JESUS CHRIST*: And that the *Covenant* with *Abraham* was incapable of being *disannulled* by the *Law* of *Moses*. This *Covenant* was made with *Abraham's Seed*, and is pleadable by the *Gentiles*; and consequently, the *Notion* of a *Holy Seed* is agreeable to the *Revelations* of the *Gospel*: Tho' they could not pretend to be of *Abraham's* Pedigree, yet the believing *Gentiles* had solider grounds to claim their *Descent* from *Abraham*, as to the true *Design* of the *Legislator*, than the unbelieving circumcised *Jews* had: And this is made out by *S. Paul*, in the *mystical Interpretations* (received by the *Jews* themselves) of the *Two Sons* of *Abraham*, *Ishmael*, and *Isaac*, which prefigured the *Two Peculia*; as also from the *Two Circumcisions*, that of the *Flesh*, and the *Heart*, the latter of which was chiefly designed by *GOD*. Tho' the *Gentiles* were to be *ingrafted* into the natural *Olive*, yet not into that of the

Jewish

Jewish Nation, which must have been done by *Circumcision*; but into the *Seed* of *Abraham*, and that in the most privileged Sense of the *Seed*, the *Inheritance* of the celestial *Canaan*; and this, by being Heirs of his *Faith* alone without *Circumcision*; and especially, as allied to *CHRIST*, (by being the adopted Sons of *GOD*) who was principally the *Seed* of *Abraham*, in whom *all the Nations* of the *Earth* were to be *blest*. Now he being the *Holy One*, we partake of a *Seed* much *more Holy* than that of the *Patriarchs* alone. Hence *S. Paul* produces *GOD's* Promise, to own such as his *Sons* and *Daughters* who would *separate* from Infidel Marriages, *2 Cor. vi. 17, 18.* from the *Holiness* of his *incorruptible Seed*, which entitled them to be *Sons* and *Daughters*. Our *Incorporation* (as in other Societies) gives us all the *Rights* of them who were originally of the natural *Seed*.

THAT which rendred the Marriages of *Jews* with any other *Nation* unlawful, was, on Account of their being *uncircumcised*: Yet (*Jer. ix. 26.*) were the *Egyptians*, nay, even the *Edomites*, tho' of *Abraham's* Posterity, thus accounted, tho' *circumcised*; and *excluded* the Privileges of the *Temple-Worship*, till completely profelyted, and had obliged themselves to observe the whole Law. Hence *S. Paul* tells them, who boasted of their *Circumcision*, yet were negligent in observing other *Duties*, that they might expect, that their own *Circumcision* would by *GOD* be reckoned as *Uncircumcision*.

AND also, such Marriages were unlawful, as it was the *Mingling* of the *Holy Seed*, which was appropriated to the *Descendents* from the *Holy*
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Patriarchs; the *Jews* being esteemed *God's peculiar Treasure*, and a holy Nation, and *Holiness* the Privilege of the true *Peculium*, to which no other Nation could pretend, without a legal *Incorporation*. *Consecration* is expressed by *Separation*. As *God* had made the *Israelites* holy, by separating them to His immediate Care, from all other Nations; so He obliged them to separate themselves from all other Nations, at least in respect to *Marriages* with them, if they would have *God* own them for His *peculiar* People.

THE same Reasoning holds under the *Gospel*, in respect to the external *Body* of the new *Peculium*; not as to confine the *Holy Seed*, as formerly, to One Nation; but so, as to succeed the old *Peculium*, in being the only *Holy Body* in the World; and hence, (1 Pet. ii. 9.) as to have the same *Epithets* with the old, so, particularly, that of a *Holy Nation*; intimating, that all the *Privileges* that belonged to the old *Peculium*, as a single Nation, agreed to the new, tho' consisting of several Nations. This holds in the *Antitheta* of *S. Paul*, 2 Cor. vi. 14. and of *S. John*, 1 John i. 3. All who were out of the true Communion, were in *Darkness* and *Death*. *S. Paul's* ἀπὸ τοῦ contains all out of the true *Peculium*, not only *Heathen Idolaters*, but also unbelieving *Jews*, tho' of the old *Peculium*, and *Hereticks* that departed and erred from the Faith; and will hold concerning *Schismatics*: Only one Communion among *Christians* was then thought to have the whole *Right* of the new *Peculium*.

THIS makes *Marriages* with a *Consort* not of the *Peculium*, and thence *unclean*, and not of the
Holy

Holy Seed, unlawful; and therefore, Marriages with Persons out of *Communion* with the *Bishop*, in the Judgment of *S. Ignatius*, (*ad Trall.* n. 7.) (who being conversant with the Apostles, knew their Minds.) Such, they being *not clean in Conscience*, were mystically unclean. And (*ad Smyrn.* n. 8, 9.) such as performed religious Offices in Separation from the *Bishop*, served the *Devil*, were Abettors of GOD's great Adversary, Promoters of *Satan's* Hostilities against CHRIST's whole *Body*, the Church. This is made out from the *New Testament*. Hence Marriages, even with *Schismaticks*, would be imputed as promoting a *Concord* between CHRIST and *Belial*.

HERE the Objection is considered; If Marriages that are contracted *before* Conversion are sanctified by one Consort, why may not one, that is originally a Christian, marry one that is not such, and sanctify the Marriage he contracts *after* his receiving of Christianity? In answer to this, 'tis premised, when we know the Thing determined by our great *Legislator*, we ought to acquiesce in His Authority, tho' the Reasons of His Will be hid from us.

THEN *Tertullian's* Account is given; which is to this purpose, "That no Holiness was derived to the Person of the unbelieving Consort from the *Believer*, but to their *common Seed*; so that for the sake of the believing Parent, GOD would take no Advantage against their *common Seed*, to exclude it from the Benefit derivable from the believing Parent, on account of the Unholiness derivable from the Unbeliever." [As GOD, in other Cases here specified,

fied, passes by the *Sins* of one Parent for the Obedience of the other.] 'Tis in God's Power to admit the *common Seed* to federal Holiness, for the sake of one Parent, who in his *Baptism* was renewed by the *Holy Ghost*, and made of the *Holy Seed*, and hereby had a Right to have his *own Seed* counted *Holy* also. Considering God's Nature is more inclinable to Favours than Punishments; besides the Favourableness of the Case.

BUT what shall we say for Profelytes *continuing* in these Marriages? This must come from their *antecedent* Obligation in their *Matrimonial Contract*: Especially, when *Divorces* were not allowed by CHRIST for *every Cause*. GOD obliges Men, by the Rules of His general Providence, to keep their *Faith* formerly given, particularly that of *Matrimony*, common to all Nations, tho' ratified by a Religion in itself false. Hence the *Marriage* must last for *Life*, unless dissolved by the *Consent* of the *Consort*. This answers another Difficulty, concerning the *Sanctification* of the Children born *after* Conversion to Christianity: The *Consecration* lasting for the Term of *Life*, must affect the following *Seed*, as well as that of which they were possessed at the *Time* of the Convert's *Baptism*. Here Mr. *Dodwell* shews, that this allowing Children the Benefit of *one* single Parent's *Incorporation*, was received by *other Nations*.

THEN follows *Tertullian's* Reason, why Marriages contracted with *Infidels*, by those who are already Members of the *true Peculium*, are *Nullities*: And that was, that by the *Baptismal Stipulation*, GOD had acquired such a Right in the
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Believer's Person, as made it not validly *alienable* without the *Consent* of GOD, on whom that Right was devolved by the Profelyte's own *Consent*: And GOD had forbidden Marriages with Persons thus unqualified; (and this on the highest Reason, *viz.* to prevent their being seduced:) Consequently, Believers alienating themselves, could not convey a valid Title: We being not *our own*, but GOD's Property. Hence *Tertullian* makes such Marriages to be Adultery.

THIS Doctrine is shewn to be agreeable to the Doctrine of the *Jewish* Priests, *Hag.* ii. 12. And also to be thus understood in the first and purest Ages of Christianity, from *Barnabas*, *Tertullian*, and *S. Cyprian*. These *Times* are, on many Reasons here mention'd, of greatest *Authority*, and to be taken for *Standards*: From which, when later Ages differed, they are not to be regarded. And then 'tis shewn, that *Facts*, even of good Men, are not to be regarded, when they deviate from an establish'd Rule that is grounded on Reasons uncapable of failing. Now the Necessity of a *Holy Seed* from *Abraham*, is shewn to be necessary to unite *both Peculia*, and this at the Establishment of the *new Peculium*. *Samson's* marrying a *Philistine*, was dispensed with by the *Legislator* Himself. The Liberty the *Jews* took in marrying Foreigners, condemned by *Ezra*, might arise from being *Slaves*, not their own Masters; and their Opinion, that their *Laws* obliged them only during their Abode in *Palestine*: By which, some well-meaning Men might be deceived: As also their Thoughts, that the *Punishments*, inflicted by GOD to atone their *piacular* Sins,

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Sins, were a temporary *Desecration*. The *Protection* of the whole *Peculium*, made amends for the legal Pollution of *Esther's* Person in marrying a *Heathen*.

CONTRACTS about dividing the Children between the *Communion* of the *Parents*, made in promiscuous Marriages, are shewn to be *Nullities*. When *Patriarchal Covenants* supposed but one Religion in a Family, it must be wholly in the Power of the Husband, who is the *Head* of the Family. The *Priesthood* was in the *First-born* of the Family, and hence the Right of *officiating* in the *Sacra* of the Family, of *admitting* to, and *excluding* from them. The Husband cannot alienate this *Right*, it being essential to his being a *Husband*. (1.) On account of the *Right* his *Patriarchal Ancestors* had in him, and Enjoyment of the *Benefits* of the *Covenants* they have stipulated for him. (2.) On the Account of the *Right* that GOD has in it, in order to secure the Performance of *Duty* covenanted to *Himself*; it being granted to the Husband by way of *Trust* from GOD. (3.) On Account of the *Right* CHRIST has in the *Man*, as *Head* of the mystical *Marriage* contracted with Him in *Baptism*, to be *Head* of the *Man*, as the *Man* is of the *Woman*, tho' in a nobler way. [CHRIST is represented in the *New Testament* as the *Bridegroom* of His *Church*, as well as the *Head* of every *Man*; and the *Father*, in the *Old Testament*, chiefly as the *Head* and *Husband* of the whole *old Peculium*, yet so as it might imply the same Relation to single Members and Families. The *λόγος* was supposed only to *appear*, and also to *mediate* under

der the *old* Dispensation. And, 1 *John* i. 3. *S. John's* Design seems to be, to shew, that to the Union of both *Peculia* into one, the Union of both *Persons* was necessary.] 'Tis impossible then that *CHRIST* should consent to *different Religions* in the *same Family*, in that He has contrived this mystical Marriage, that He might make His own Consent essential to the Validity of all consequent Matrimonial Contracts: And such Contracts to Consorts out of the *Peculium*, are consenting to the polluting of *CHRIST's Members*, His *Sons* and *Daughters*.

As this reaches all Men, so likewise *Women*, who cannot with us (where *Slavery* is not known) be validly disposed of without their own Consent: Neither can the Men of the *Peculium* give the *Women* to be disposed of by them, to *Husbands* out of the *Peculium*. If not formerly in the Case of *Dinah*, much less under the *Gospel*, against the Will of *CHRIST*, to whom the mystical Marriage gives a more immediate Right in all the Children of both Sexes. If *Women* expect the *Benefits* of the *new Peculium*, they must submit to the *Laws*, perform the *Conditions* of it, and avoid those *Liberties* which are inconsistent with it. Here is shewn, that the Condition of *Women* marrying out of the *Peculium*, is worse than that of *Men*. Tho' they cannot dispose of themselves without their *Parents* Consent, or those who have the Right of disposing of them; yet neither can they, who have that *Right*, dispose of them to an unholy *Consort* against their own Wills.

MR. *Dodwell* concludes this Discourse, with the Consideration of the first *Peculium*, the *Sons of God*, the Children of *Seth*, marrying with the Posterity of *Cain*, the *Daughters of Men*, Persons out of the *Peculium*; and this, being the first Institution of a *Peculium*, that which ought to be considered, in order to understand the Nature of a *Peculium*; (as our Saviour doth in the Case of *Marriage*, to shew what were *Deviations* from it, tho' indulged to degenerate Mankind, that under the Gospel they might be restored to the first Original: The like holds in respect to the *Peculium*. And hence, the shewing what were the *Duties* and *Privileges* at the first Institution, will explain them as they are to be under the Gospel.

1. THE Posterity of *Seth* were a *Peculium*, as they inhabited a *Holy Land*, which *Holiness* required especial *Duties*, from which others were excused. The Land was *Holy*, as that in which God vouchsafed His *Shechinah* and peculiar *Presence*, which consecrated Places to which God vouchsafed them, and which consecrated the Land of the *Jewish Peculium*. Otherwise, *Cain's* Banishment would not have been a going out from the *Presence* of the *Lord*. In the Land whither he went, he was *hid from the Face of God*.

2. THE Posterity of *Seth* were taken for the People of *Jehovah*, as the *Israelites* were afterwards, and thereby became God's *Peculium*, and under His peculiar Care. Hence *Enos*, the Son of *Seth*, Gen. iv. 26. ἤλπισεν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου τῷ Θεῷ. [Which Translation of the LXXII is here defended.] Κύριος is *Jehovah* in the

the Hebrew; ἐπικαλεῖσθαι ---- is to have GOD's Name called upon them; i. e. to be reckoned as His People, in whom He had a peculiar Property, a thing proper for Enos's Hope, as being so signal a Privilege. Hence arose those Appellations given to the Sethites, being the Sons of God, and Angels; both which are largely shewn to be, and how, applicable to them. Jude vi. to be meant of them, who left their own Habitation, their own Holy Land, to dwell in the unholy Land of the Cainites for the sake of their Wives, who went after strange Flesh, as the Sodomites, with which they mingled the Holy Seed. Here is shewn, how S. Peter and S. Jude seem to have had their Accounts of the Fall of the Angels, mention'd by them, from the Book of Enoch, which was a Narrative of these Children of Seth, written (a thing usual) by one that personated Enoch: A Book coeval with the Apostles, in which these Apostate Sethites are called Ἐγγήγοι, so styled by others. How also this Apostasy of the Angels of the Posterity of Seth, by the Cainite Women, was known and believed by the Jews of the Apostles Age, as appears from Philo and Josephus, from Apocryphal Books, and from Eupolemus.

THIS Title of the Sons of GOD came to be given to the Sethites, (as may be gather'd from the Use thereof in the New Testament) from their having the Divine Spirit. CHRIST explains the Psalmist's Expression, I have said you are Gods, because unto them the Λόγος of God came. By Λόγος the Divine Spirit is to be understood. Λόγος and πνεῦμα are shewn to be used synonymously.

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[The *Resurrection* qualifying Men to be called the *Sons of God* misapplied by the *Socinians*. Men in *this* Life are thus often styled in the *New Testament*, being such who are entitled to Heaven by the *Holy Spirit*, which entitles us to a *Spiritual Body*, and this entitles our *Bodies* to a *Resurrection*, 1 Cor. xv. 44.] And they that are led by the *Spirit*, are the *Sons of God*. In *Baptism*, born of Water, and the *Holy Ghost*, which is the Principle of that new Life by which we become the Children of *God*: By this the *θεία Φύσις* is received. [But here is largely shewn, that this Title of *Sons of God*, tho' common to *Christ* Himself with the *new Peculium*, is notwithstanding very consistent with His being the *Son of God* in a *higher* Sense than *they*.] The Posterity of *Seth* are shewn to have had the *Divine Spirit*, by *Seth's* being said to be Begotten in the *Image of Adam*, that is, in the *Image of God*; not meerly as *ψυχὴ ζῶσα*, a *Living Soul*, but as a *Quickening Spirit*. (*Πνεῦμα* being more than *πνοή*, in which the first *Adam* was made.) Our *Christ*, the *Λόγος*, (by the Reasonings of the *New Testament*, particularly 1 Cor. xv. 45.) dwelt in *Adam* the same Way as He does in us by His *Divine Spirit*. Hence, if *Seth* was born to *Adam* according to this *Likeness*, by which *Luk. iii. 38.* he is expressly called the *Son of God*, he had the same Title to this Appellation as *Adam* had.

THIS is farther made out from *Gen. vi. 3.* where 'tis intimated, that the *Holy Ghost*, which was given to *Seth* and his Posterity by a *Patrimonial Covenant*, so long as they continued stedfast in Performing the *Conditions* thereof, should no longer

longer continue with them, (ὃ μὴ καταμεῖναι τὸ πνεῦμα μὲν): He would no more give His Spirit to them in course as before, because of their manifest Violations of it: He would abdicate these undutiful Sons, by withdrawing His Spirit from them. The Reason assigned, is, because they were *Flesh*; i. e. followed *fleshly* Affections by their *unholy* Marriages. Σάρκες in the LXX. This is shewn to be the Doctrine of the *New Testament*. The Angels in this Fall being called, 1 Pet. iii. 19. πνεύματα, in Regard of the Dignity of their *Nature*: Here considered in Opposition to ψυχμοί. These Angels shewn to be, according to the Scriptures, (not only *Aërial*) of an Heavenly Original. S. Jude (v. 13.) tells the *Gnosticks*, who gloried in being *Pneumatical*, that such were the Apostate Angels, the *Sethites*; and yet for these πλανῆται, these *Stars* that had *Deviations* from others, was reserved *Blackness of Darknes*; eternal, and thence a proper Punishment of them that had a *Heavenly* Original, the highest Rank of *humane* Souls. This expounded out of the Book of *Enoch*.

THE Ancient *Heathen* Traditions, make the first Souls of Men of a *Divine* Original.

THEN the *Cainites*, the Children of Men are shewn never to have had the *Divine Spirit*; that *Cain* siding with the *Devil*, was by him put upon *Murdering* his *Brother*; from which Time the *Devil* had a farther Title in him by the *Piaculum* thence contracted. On which Fact God made the *Laws* concerning *Piacular* Offences; the Punishments of *Exile*, and of inward *Horror* and *Torture* by malignant *Spirits*, are by *Heathens* styled *Furies*.

Furies. This was unanimously owned by the most ancient Monuments, being a positive Institution derived by Oral Tradition, and confirm'd by Observation of the like Punishments inflicted for the like Crimes. Cain henceforward was unfit for the Reception of the Divine Spirit, and thence disabled to derive it to his Posterity.

FROM the *Sethites* Apostacy, we find no complete Effusion of the Holy Ghost, no, not on the *Jewish Peculium*, till it was poured on the *new*, *Joh. vii. 39.* it being a peculiar Privilege promised, *Isai. xlix.* and reserved for the *new Peculium*; not received by the Works of the Law, but by Faith. 'Twas CHRIST (as *John Baptist* asserts) who was to baptize with the Holy Ghost, to be given after He was glorified. The Laver of Regeneration, and the Renewing of the Holy Ghost, are conjoined, *Tit. iii. 5.* and intimate, that the Gift of the Holy Spirit given in Baptism, was a Restoring the first and the most perfect Peculium, foretold *Ezek. xxxvi. 26.* and other Prophecies; and called in the *New Testament* the *New Man*, the *New Creature*, &c. and intimate the Restoration of Mankind to their Primitive State; [implied in *Heathen Mythologies*] and a Reduction of the Peculium of *Seth*, the immediate Descendent from *Adam*, and the Interesting us in the Benefits accruing from the Covenant made with *Adam*. Here is shewn how *Heathens*, (by Traditions they received from the first Discoveries that GOD gave to Mankind) as they spoke of a *Golden Age*, so of the Return of *Astræa*, the *Nova Progenies*: And how *Plato* spoke of a Restoration of Mankind, and this ascribed to the Λόγος θεϊότατος. This
our

our first *Christian* Ancestors applied to *CHRIST*, the *Λόγος*. He is *κτίστης*, as *Founder* of the *Divine Colony* brought down to people the *new* created *Earth*; who are thence styled *Strangers* and *Sojourners*.

SUCH Nations, to whom *GOD* vouchsafed the *Divine Spirit*, were immediately under His *Care*; whereas other Nations were under *inferior Beings*, such as the separate Souls of their Ancestors, yet such as were in Subjection to *GOD* and *CHRIST*. This was a received Opinion, and seems to be countenanced from *Deut. xxxii. 8.* as 'tis in the *LXX*.

WHERE the *Divine Spirit* was given universally to any People, that constituted such a People a *Peculium*. Such were the *Sethites*, and such are those that are initiated by *Christian Baptism*. This is not so clear in the *Peculium* derived from *Abraham*: Among whom, for some time, was the *Spirit of Prophecy*, and that of *Government*, received by *Unction*, and conferred by *Jehovah*, rather as their *King* than their *God*, being granted to them who had some Concern in the *Government*. This could not be challenged by other Nations but the *Israelites*. What moral Rules the Philosophers taught, are indeed ascribed by *Justin Martyr* to that *Divine Spirit*, whereof the Fulness was in *CHRIST*, the Original of all *Inspirations*. Such were the *Invention* of Things useful for *humane Life*. Yet these Influences of the *Spirit* are no sufficient Claim to the *Peculium*. If the *Israelites* had the *Spirit*, and this on account of a *Covenant*, (as in *Hag. ii. 5.*) then that *Spirit* must be an Angel, promised, *Exod. xxiii. 20.*
spoken

spoken of afterwards. An Angel of the greatest Dignity, *Michael*. The *Law* was given by the Ministry of this Angel; and hence proved to be inferior to the Gospel given by CHRIST, *Heb. i. 2.* However, the *immediate Covenanting* with the Supreme Being for this Angel, shews, that the Supreme Being had the *Right* in them, and the Angel was only a *Trustee* under Him; (a thing not granted to other Nations.) And this gave the *Israelites a Right in Reversion* to the Privileges of the *new Peculium*, which were afterwards to be established, which appeared in the *Spirit of Prophecy* that foretold this. And then the *Holy Seed*, CHRIST, the Fountain of the *Divine Spirit*, was to descend from *them*, that they might be not only *One Flesh*, but also *One Spirit* with Him. They are owned by God as His *Sons*, tho' as *Heirs* under Age, not actually invested with the Privileges of *Sons*, such as had not actually received the *Spirit*. They are (in *Ecclus. xxiv. 8, -- 12.*) the People to whom *Wisdom* is particularly ascribed, and are called the *Lord's Inheritance*, and they are said (*v. 8.*) to be the *Inheritance of Wisdom*, the same with *Λόγος* in the Sense of *that Age*: To which is ascribed in *Wisd. vii. 25.* what is ascribed to CHRIST, *Heb. i. 3.* which maketh all Things new, *Καὶνίζει*. That, which entering into Souls, maketh them *Friends of God*, i. e. His especial *Favourites*, to whom He discovered His Secrets, *Job. xv. 15.* This done by the *Spirit*. This was not fully given to the *Jews*; yet they had such *Secrets* discovered to them, as might direct them to CHRIST, by *Types* and *Prophecies*, when He should appear among them, (Privileges

leges which other Nations enjoyed not) yet 'tis plain that the *Body* of the *Jews* did not discern the *mystical Senses* of the *Old Testament*, by which they were directed to their *Duty* under the *New*. No, they were *hardned*, till they were enter'd into *CHRIST's Peculium*, wherein they might expect to receive the *Spirit*. To *CHRIST's Disciples* it is given to know the *Mysteries* of the *Kingdom of Heaven*, but to them (to others) it is not given, *Matth. xiii. 2.* The *Jews* continuing in their *Infidelity*, after the *Gospel* was published, could lay no *Claim* to the *true Peculium*, nor to the *Divine Spirit*, the *Discoverer* of *Divine Mysteries*. The *Right* the *Jewish Nation* had hereunto, was only in *Reversion*: Yet not so, but that they received many *beneficial Influences* of the *Spirit*, before they received the *Spirit* itself: Not meerly those general ones, as they were *God's Creatures*, which the *Heathens* had, but as those that were in *Covenant* with Him. Such as *Urim* and *Thummim*; the *Spirit* of *Prophecy*, the *Law* as a *Pædagog* to bring them to *CHRIST*.
 " But they had not the *Spirit* as a *living abiding*
 " *Principle* inhabiting every individual *Member* of
 " our *new Peculium*, as an *immortal Seed*, as a
 " *Constituent* of our *Regeneration*, &c. as was first
 " made separable by *Adam's Fall*, then no longer
 " given for the *Apostacy* of the *Sons of Seth* till
 " our *Saviour*, the *Λόγος*, who first gave it, did
 " at His own *Time* restore it.

THESE *Notions* are supposed in the *Reasonings* of the *New Testament*, particularly *Rom. viii. 29.* Here *σύμμορφοι, πρόγνωσις* and *προόρισις*, are explained, and shewn to belong to the *new Pecul-*

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Peculium. And also from Heb. vi. 4, 5. is shewn what are the *Benefits* of our *Baptism*: It initiates us into a *Heavenly State*, even whilst here on *Earth*: We are φωτισθέντες, in a State of *Light*, the Residence of Angels, and of GOD Himself: We *taste of the Heavenly Gift*, the *Holy Ghost*, the *Mystical Manna*, the Food of Angels: We receive the *Powers of the World to come*, the Gifts of the *Divine Spirit*, called *Powers of the World to come*, because they are *Cæstial*. These we *taste of* as an *Antepast* of that *Feast* which is reserved for us in Heaven; the *first Fruits* of the future *Harvest*. GOD now expressly stipulates with us for future Rewards, and gives us this *Specimen* in hand to secure our *Hopes*. A Favour not granted to the *Postdiluvian Patriarchs*.

THE ΤΕΛΕΙΩΣΙΣ, the *Initiation* into *Mysteries*; (which Mr. Dodwell here explains) was not by the *Law*, but by the *Bringing in a better Hope*, Heb. vii. 19. The *Law* only prepared its Disciple for Heaven, but could not bring him thither, without a *second Initiation*. The Believing *Patriarchs* could not be made perfect (τελειωθῶσι) without us, Heb. xi. 40. i. e. they could not receive their πνεύματα, till CHRIST, after His *Resurrection*, communicated His Spirit to them, the *superiour Adam*, which was after the *Image of GOD*, and so became perfect, according to the Perfection of *Adam* before his *Fall*. The Spirit that was in them before, tho' it might raise them above the *Earth* to *Abraham's Bosom*, was not sufficient to raise them to *Heaven*. These Souls may possibly be the Angels present in *Christian Assemblies*, 1 Cor. xi. 10. The *Elect Angels*, who are represented

sented as *Satellites* of CHRIST, and therefore with Him present in *Christian Assemblies*; as Ignatius tells us, that where CHRIST was present, the *Catholick Church* was present also. Mr. Dodwell was apt to think, "that the *Pneumatical Souls* of the *Patriarchs* not ascended into Heaven, were believed present with their Lord in Church Assemblies, as owning the *Union* made between them and us by our Blessed Saviour." This he took for the true *Communion of Saints* subjoined in our Creed, to that of the *Catholick Church*: And that the Ground of all is the *Communion of the Holy Ghost*, 2 Cor. xiv. 13. which gives us a *Communion* with the *Father* and the *Son*, and with one another, and makes us *Fellow-Citizens* with the *Saints*, and the having our *πολίτευμα* in Heaven: (a) That S. Paul alludes to this, when he speaks of himself as present in Spirit, tho' absent in Body, in the Assemblies of the *Corinthians*, as alluding to the Presence of the deceased Saints in such Assemblies, whilst their Bodies lay in their Graves.

He then concludes with Excusing the Length of the Discourse, by considering the Momentousness of the Subject, and Mens Backwardness to consider weighty Truths.

(a) This Initial Heavenly State seems to be the Cause why all the Divine Promises which shall be fulfilled in us, are spoken of as if they were already fulfilled.



C H A P. XXXIII.

*A Dissertation concerning the
Time of Phalaris.*



R. Dodwell, A. D. 1704, upon Occasion of the Dispute betwixt Dr. Bentley and his Adversaries concerning *Phalaris's* Epistles, (which he wishes might have been managed on both Sides with greater Temper) propounds, in his *Preface*, the Consideration of this Argument brought by Dr. Bentley to overthrow the Authority of those Epistles; and that is, that *Atossa* the Daughter of *Cyrus*, was the first Inventor of *Epistles*, and consequently that Epistles were not to be expected from *Phalaris* who lived before her Time, nor could come so quickly from *Asia* into *Sicily*.

WHEN *Hellanicus* is produced to testify that *Epistles* were *Atossa's* Invention, and this from others, *Hellanicus's* History being lost, 'tis possible it might be the *Milesian Hellanicus* mention'd by *Suidas*, and not the *Lesbian*: And hence, if much later than the ancient *Hellanicus*, not such an unquestionable Deliverer of an ancient Tradition as is here supposed. Besides, there are sufficient Testimonies of *Epistles* before *Atossa's* Days. For tho' that of *Bellerophon* be allowed to be *Homer's* Fiction,

Fiction, yet from thence 'tis evident, that Epistles were used in *Homer's* Time, in that he suited his *Poems* to Customs used in his own Days. Now *Homer* himself lived before *Atossa's*, nay, her Father's Time, viz. in the Time of the *Cimmerian's* Irruption under *Cyaxares*.

Harpagus's Epistle to *Cyrus* is mentioned as a thing not strange, tho' the Sending it in a *Hare's* Belly is. Tho' the Epistles of Philosophers in *Laertius* may be justly question'd, yet those in the Holy Scriptures cannot: Such as *Jezebel's*, 1 *Kin.* xxi. the King of *Syria's*, 2 *Kin.* v. *Jehu's*, 2 *Kin.* x. and many others here mention'd. The Invention of Epistles is not to be expected from History, in that the Art of Writing was of so great Use in Mens private Affairs, and consequently at first chiefly used therein, and then afterwards in other Things written for Pleasure, as Poetry and History. No wonder, therefore, that we do not find in History, who first *invented* Epistles. Neither does the Testimony of *Pliny* signify any thing, which only concerns the *Matter* on which Epistles were first written.

THE Invention ascribed to *Atossa*, was not that of writing Epistles, but that of joining the Tables, on which they were written, with such Exactness, that they might be more conveniently *carried*; expressed by the Word *συντάσσειν*, an Art unknown to *Homer*.

BUT supposing *Atossa* did invent Epistles, this hinders not but that *Phalaris* might write Epistles, in that he lived at the same Time with *Atossa*, who (after she had had two former Husbands, and probably thence near 30 Years old then)

then) was married to *Darius Hystaspes*. In whose Time there were many Greek and Asian Colonies planted in *Sicily*, and hence an easy Communication of useful Inventions to each other.

In the First Exercitation,

MR. *Dodwell* having premised the Difficulty of Settling Times in the Ages before Historians wrote: He shews, that *Phalaris* could not have a Being before *Agrigentum* itself, of which he was Tyrant. Hence he considers when *Agrigentum* was built: From *Pindar*, that it was but an 100 Years old, when *Thero* was Victor at the *Olympicks*.

FROM *Thucydides*: That *Agrigentum* was a Colony of *Gela*, and in order thereto that Foundation of *Gela* and of *Syracuse*, are considered. By determining the Original and Distance of each of these, from *Thucydides* and *Eusebius's Chronicon*, he finds that *Agrigentum* was built in the first Year of the 50th *Olympiad*.

HE then deduces the Age of *Phalaris*; that he was some time before *Thero*, who was Tyrant of *Agrigentum*, whose Olympick Victory *Pindar*, his Coæval, celebrated; that *Thero* enter'd on his Reign in the first Year of the 73d *Olympiad*. The Distance betwixt *Thero* and *Phalaris* he computes, by considering the Cotemporary Tyrants of *Gela*, *Hippocrates* and *Cleander*, and finds the Age of the first, from his living at the Time when the *Samians* and *Milesians* seized on *Zan-da*, which he shews was in *Olympiad* 71. 4. Hence, probably, there were but two Tyrants at *Agrigentum* betwixt *Phalaris* and *Thero*, and these

these (as 'tis observed of these *Sicilian Tyrants*) not long-lived. That whatever *Dr. Bentley* produces out of *Scholiasts*, is of small Authority, when opposite to *Pindar* and *Thucydides*; these *Scholiasts* proceeding on uncertain *Reasonings*, not from good *Monuments*, which is shewn in some Instances. From them *Dr. Bentley* makes *Telemachus* to have a Hand in the Death of *Phalaris*, yet without Ground. For tho' *Telemachus* was an Ancestor of *Thero*, yet at the Distance of many *Generations*; in that *Telemachus* was at the Building of *Gela*, and that was 108 Years before *Agrigentum* was built, and consequently much longer before the Death of *Phalaris*. Here *Mr. Dodwell* shews the Uncertainty of the ancient Genealogies, nay even of the first Historians, who, as well as the Poets, wrote to please, being (as *Thucydides* complains) little concerned for the Truth of what they delivered.

HERE the little Credit that the Writers of Genealogies deserve, is evinced from *Acusilaus* the first of these, who pretends not to deliver what he writes from ancient Archives, but from private Pillars, (as several others did, who are here mention'd) and yet from him others (possibly *Hesiod*) borrowed what they wrote: Also from the Disagreement there is between these Writers, shewn in many Instances; and particularly in the Genealogy of *Thero* from *Telemachus*, in which there's no Agreement, either in the Number of the *Generations*, or in the Names of the Men: Besides other Errors. From the Consideration of which is shewn, that 'tis more probable that *Telemachus* was at the Founding of *Gela*, than of

Agrigentum: And that if *Telemachus* flew a Tyrant, 'twas more probably at *Thera* or *Rhodes*, (from whence he came into *Sicily*) than in *Sicily*: And that whatsoever is said by Scholiasts to make him at the Building of *Agrigentum*, and the Killer of *Phalaris*, is not from any *Records* or *History*, but their own groundleſs *Reasonings*, of which an Account is here given. Hence Dr. *Bentley's* Argument for the Age of *Phalaris*, from that of *Telemachus*, fails.

THEN the Time of *Phalaris's* Reign, from Reasonings out of *Eusebius*, is ſhewn to be 28 Years: And that Miſtakes about this have been occaſion'd by making the Beginning of his Reign to be that of the Beginning of the City of *Agrigentum*; and this occaſioned by the not obſerving the diſtinct Years of the *Olympiads*, at that Time when they firſt began to reckon by *Olympiads*. That *Phalaris* probably was born at *Aſtypelæa*, however not at *Agrigentum*, tho' he had the Title of a *Citizen* thereof given him, of which 'tis no wonder when he became Prince thereof; and withall, in that he might attain the Name on other Accounts here mentioned. He muſt have been ſome time at *Agrigentum*, before he could make himſelf Tyrant thereof, eſpecially when he attained this by his ſubtile Arts. But how long after the Foundation of that City, can only be gathered by Reasonings. 'Tis moſt probable 16 Years after: And hence he reigning 28 Years, might be cotemporary with *Cræſus*, with whom he is compared by *Pindar*. [*Pindar* appeals to Hiſtorians and Poets, (and not to his own Knowledge, in this thing). The ancienteſt Hiſtorians wrote under

under *Darius Hystaspes*; at highest under *Cambyfes*.] Therefore *Phalaris* must be before those Days; yet not long, if he was in the Time of *Cyrus*, according to *Orosius*: But he seems to be rather later, which is made out by the Time of *Gelo*, who was in the Time of *Xerxes*, the *Lacedemonians*, upon his Invasion, sending Ambassadors to *Gelo*.

THE next Thing considered, is the Time when *Stesichorus* (who by the Epistles attributed to *Phalaris* is supposed coæval with him) lived. As for this, a remarkable Passage of *Simonides* shews him to be elder than *Simonides*, but younger than *Homer* who lived at the Time when the *Cimmerians* invaded *Asia*. *Suidas* places *Stesichorus*'s Death in *Olympiad* 56. Hence agreeable enough with the Age of *Phalaris*, especially if he lived 85 Years. 'Tis not agreed by the Ancients, that *Stesichorus* was the Son of *Hesiod*; neither can *Hesiod*'s Age be known by the Scraps of the *τροπαῖ* ascribed to him. The Knowledge of *Eclipses*, and of *Astronomy*, is shewn to be much later among the *Greeks*. There was another *Stesichorus* coæval with *Æschylus*; especially if he, who was first called *Tysias*, received this additional Name of *Stesichorus* from the Invention of the *Chorus*, which indeed was before invented by *Arion* of *Methymna*. But, if the Name must be derived from any Invention, it must be that of the *ᾠαὶ χορῶν*. This is here explained. When in Honour of their Gods, they not only sung, but danced about their Altars, this was styled *Chorus*: To this was superadded, that when they came directly overagainst, and fix'd their

Eyes on the *Image* of their Gods, they stood still, and only sung their *Epodes*. [Here the *Stations*, and also *Sessions*, in Divine Worship, are consider'd.] Hence *Stesichorus* (and then to be sure the first so called) received his Name; and from hence we may know that he was before *Pindar*, who used these *epodick* *ζάσεις*. [Then the Words of the Oxford Marble, *Στησίχορος ὁ Ἱμεραῖος ὁ δεύτερος, ὃς ἐνίκησεν Ἀθήνησιν*, are considered.] And yet after *Arion*, that invented the *χορὸς κύκλιος*, which *Stesichorus* made to be *ζάσιμος*. This *Arion* lived under *Periander* of *Corinth*, who reigned there from *Olymp.* 38. 4. to *Olymp.* 48. 4.

Phalaris may be known not to have been killed before *Olymp.* 67. $\frac{3}{4}$, by considering the Intercourse betwixt him and *Clisthenes*, who managed publick Affairs at *Athens*, after the *Pisistratidae* were driven from thence; a Period well known. Here Dr. Bentley's Objection of another *Clisthenes* is considered. Also, how a *Pecuniary Mule*, with which *Clisthenes* was punish'd, could consist with his *Ostracism*; [the Invention of which is consider'd, and its being confounded by some with *Banishment*: And how Persons banished for *Piacular Crimes* had been restored, upon the Payment of the *Mule*.]

LASTLY, the Time of *Epicharmus*, who was 97 Years old, according to *Lucian*, and one that taught six Years before the *Persian War*, is shewn to be very consistent with *Phalaris*'s Esteem of him as a Poet and a Philosopher. How *Epicharmus* was coæval with, tho' something elder, than the three *Athenian* Inventors of *Comedy*. From the Consideration of theirs and *Epicharmus*'s Age,
Mr.

Mr. *Dodwell* concludes, that *Phalaris* was killed betwixt *Olympiad* 69. 2. and *Olympiad* 70. 1. He computes, that he came to *Agrigentum*, *Olympiad* 58. 1. obtained the *Tyranny* 16 Years after, *Olympiad* 62. 1. and was slain *Olympiad* 69. and all agreeable to what he had before considered.

The Second Dissertation is of the Time of Pythagoras.

WHERE Mr. *Dodwell*, in Opposition to Bishop *Lloyd* and Dr. *Bentley*, who make him earlier, shews, (from what he had said in his Book *de Cyclis*) his own Opinion herein, and to that End how each Year of his Life agrees with the *Julian* Period, and other *Epochæ*; and the Lives of Coæval Kings, especially of the *Medes* and *Persians*; how his Death (when aged 117) ended in the 13th Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*; and this digested in a Table. And also premises the Difficulty of this Undertaking, in that *Pythagoras* lived at the Time of the first *Greek* Historians, none of whom speak of him, but only accidentally: Other Historians were later than *Aristotle*, or other Libraries, hence not preserved. Besides, 'tis not to be expected, in that *Pythagoras* travelled over, and dispersed his useful Knowledge in so many divers Countries, whose Historians were not known to the *Greeks*: As also how hard it is to distinguish in that Age true Reports from what are *fabulous*, which in this Case is shewn to be necessary: How little the Authority of the Scholiasts on ancient Poets is, in that they collected not what they wrote, from Authors coæval with

the Poets, who were best acquainted with the Mind of the Poets.

IN order to know the Time when *Pythagoras* lived, the Age of his *Præceptor* is considered, viz. of *Pherecydes Syrius*, a Native of the Island *Syra*, not (as some have mistaken) of *Syria*. His being confounded with *Pherecydes Lerijs*, an *Historian*, has occasioned Mistakes concerning his Age. *Pherecydes* the Philosopher's Birth-Day is by *Porphyry* (as *Suidas* tells us) placed in *Olymp.* 45. His Time, by *Laertius*, in *Olymp.* 59. by *Eusebius* in *Olymp.* 60. in the 59th Year of his Age, about which Time 'tis probable he died.

Pittacus also is made to be heard by *Pherecydes*, one coæval with *Cræsus*, and with the Seven Wise-men. An Account is given whence *Pherecydes* is said to be acquainted with the Books of *Mochus* the *Phœnician*, viz. his being confounded with *Pythagoras* his Scholar, as in some other Things. As for *Pherecydes Lerijs* the *Historian*, he seems to be later than the first *Historians*, who lived in *Darius Hystaspes* his Time, he being never reckon'd among them, and probably lived after the Time of *Xerxes*. It is here shewn, how that which *Laertius* says of *Pherecydes*'s Counsel to *Perilaus* the *Messenian*, which he neglecting, *Messene* was taken by the *Lacedemonians*, must be understood of *Pherecydes* the *Historian*; the third *Messenian* War (which must be here meant) agreeing with that Time. Then the Time of the fatal Overthrow of the *Magnesiums* by the *Ephesiums*, before which *Pherecydes* desired to be buried in the Country of the *Magnesiums*, is shewn from *Callinus* (quoted by *Strabo*) to be about the
Time

Time of the *Cimmerian's* Invasion, [Here *Callinus* is shewn to be a little elder than *Archilochus*] and of *Homer*.

ONE thing offered, to prove the Age of *Pythagoras*, is from the Mention of *Pythagoras* a Champion, in *Olymp. XLVIII*. This was occasioned by making the *Philosopher* the same with the *Champion*: Whereas there were several of the same Name. From hence, *Pythagoras*, tho' most probably a *Samian*, is made by some a *Phliasian*, by others a *Metapontine*, a *Sidonian*, &c. occasioned by Persons of the same Name in those diverse Places. [From whence proceeded the different Accounts of the Age, wherein the *Philosophers* lived.] *Laertius* speaks of four *Pythagoras's*. He whom *Eratosthenes* (in *Laertius*) mentions, that was a Champion, was not the *Philosopher*, this Person being one that wrote in the *Doric* Dialect; whereas the *Philosopher* never wrote any thing, as is generally acknowledged. His Followers, indeed, father'd their own Works on him; but this is no more than what the *Chaldeans* did on *Zoroaster*, and the *Egyptians* on *Hermes*. As for what *Heraclitus* said of *Pythagoras's* *Ἰσοπία*, 'tis only to be understood of his great Learning, which he attained by his Travels. The three Books, not known till *Philolaus's* Time, were written by the *Pythagoras* mentioned by *Eratosthenes*, (falsly ascribed to the *Philosopher*) whose Daughter was *Dama*; of whom afterwards.

HERE Mr. *Dodwell* shews, that *Pythagoras*, and the old *Pythagoreans*, forbade the Eating of *Flesh*, and even the Killing of *Beasts*; and this from the Opinion of the *Transmigration* of the Souls

Souls of *Men* into the Bodies of *Brutes*. But that afterwards, viz. about, or a little before, the Time of *Hadrian*, a new Sect of *Pythagoreans* arose, who, under some Restrictions, did eat Flesh. These Innovators, in Defence of themselves, pleaded the Authority of *Apollo Pythius*, (of whom *Pythagoras* had his Name) his permitting the Sacrifice of *Beasts*, instead of that of *Fruits*: And withall, the Authority of a *Pythagoras*, whom they would have believed to be the *Philosopher*, but was the Son of *Eratocles*, (not of *Mnesarchus*.) Either he or his Father was a *Tyrrenian*: From the Custom of which People they derived his *Symbols*. This was *Pythagoras Alipites*, Scholar of the *Philosopher*, who permitted the Eating of all *Animals*, but the *Plow-Ox* and the *Ram*. He was the Instructor of *Eurymenes*, a Victor in the *Olympick Games*. Therefore, not the *Philosopher*, who approved of Games when used for Exercises, but not when undertaken to obtain *Victory*. Hence, after his Discipline was established, we should expect no *Champions* to come out of his Schools: And yet we find *Milo*, &c. from *Croton*, and *Empedocles* from *Sicily*, the first in *Olymp. LXVII. 3.* the latter *Olymp. LXXI.* Hence, 'tis probable, that *Pythagoras's School* was of a later Erection.

THO' *Pythagoras* forbad the Eating of some Parts of *Animals*, we must not thence conclude, that he permitted the Use of others: Because this might be *Symbolical*, (he using *Symbols* to keep his Precepts concealed from Strangers.) This was a Method used by others. Probably, many things in the *Mosaick Law* were forbidden on this

this Reason. This is illustrated by the *Vision* wherein *S. Peter* was bidden to *kill* and *eat* clean and unclean Animals presented to him. This Vision had not respect to *Eating*, but to shew that he should not account *Gentiles* among unclean Persons, unfit to be admitted into the *Christian Peculium*.

NEITHER doth *Pythagoras's* offering an *Hecatombe*, upon a new Invention, prove that he offered any *Animal*, (which *Porphyry* and *Eudoxus* testify, he was an Enemy to;) but only an Offering made of *Paste* of Wheaten-Flower, in the Shape of an Ox. With such a Feast, such Sacrifices, *Empedocles* entertain'd his Guests, after an *Olympick* Victory, according to the Discipline of *Pythagoras*.

FROM the Age of *Pythagoras Aleiptes*, the Time is deduced of the *Philosopher*, whose Scholar this *Aleiptes* was, (and from whom his Father learned *Musick*) probably, 20 Years old, when the *Philosopher* was 59. This Person (as *Jamblichus* testified) followed the *Philosopher* from *Samos* into *Italy*: And this at a Time when the *Tyrrhenians* (from whom this *Pythagoras Aleiptes* descended) were driven out of the Islands of the *Ægean* Sea, *Olymp. LXVII.* about the 12th Year of *Darius Hystaspes*.

BEING called κομῆτις, is no Proof that he was *Pythagoras* the *Philosopher*, who was not singular in respect to wearing his Hair; but shews, that *Diodorus*, the last of *Pythagoras's* Successors in his School at *Croton*, was in this more a *Cynick*, than a *Pythagorean*. The Wearing of Hair is shewn to be the Habit of Boys, and not of Manhood,

hood, [where the Habits of *Boys* and *Men* are considered] and consequently, soft, effeminate, and unfit for a Philosopher. That this *Pythagoras*, tho' κομήτης, was admitted, but contrary to Custom, to be a *Champion*, because he was of the Age of *Manhood*, being above Seventeen.

§. 16. THE Passage of *Antilochus* (in *Clem. Alex.*) is shewn, to determine nothing of the Time of *Pythagoras*, in that ἡλικία is used in so many various Significations, and that in the Age of particular Persons. [The Time when *Solomon* began his Reign, is here considered.] §. 18. *Antilochus* is shewn to be a late Writer, younger than *Epicurus*. Γενεαὶ signifying no precise Time, but also several Successions; no Argument can be deduced from the μετὰ τέσσαρας γενεάς in *Dionys. Halicarn.* for the Age of *Pythagoras*. He might be born in the Time of *Servius Tull.* the fourth from *Numa*; and, according to *Plutarch*, come into *Italy* on the fifth, viz. that of *Tarq. Superbus*, according to *Cicero*. The Expressions of ἡλικία, γενεὰ, &c. may have respect to several Times, viz. Birth, being under Masters, Travelling, &c.

MR. Dodwell shews, how the Traditions of the *Ancients* agree with his Hypothesis. How *Clemens Alexandrinus* places *Thales*, in *Olymp.* 48. who was *Pythagoras*'s Master; and that *Pythagoras*'s Birth could not be before *Olymp.* 50. That, if *Jamblichus* differ from himself in what he had in other places deliver'd, 'tis to be imputed to the *Authors* Disagreements whom he made use of: That there's no reason to suspect what *Jamblichus* writes, when different from what is in *Laertius*,

tius, in that, 'tis probable, he had never seen what *Laertius* wrote, who was, likely, later than himself; considering, that in the many Authors he cites, he never names *Laertius*. The *Epistles* betwixt *Julian* and *Jamblichus*, are the Fiction of some Sophist. Both *Laertius*, and *Jamblichus*, as also *Porphry*, might make use of the same Authors, particularly *Moderatus Gaditanus*, and others here named.

As for *Lysis*, Master of *Epaminondas*, being called *Pythagoræus*, it denotes only one that observed strictly the Discipline of *Pythagoras*, (which a *Pythagoristes* did not;) and his being γνῶριμος Πυθαγόρῃς, is shewn to denote no more, than one admitted into the Discipline of *Pythagoras*, to the Knowledge of his Mysteries, tho' after his Death, and not necessarily one that heard him. Tho' his being called *Pythagoricus*, and his publishing Writings in the Name of *Pythagoras*, implies, that he was one immediately acquainted with his *Arcana* from himself.

THE great Argument to make *Pythagoras*'s Time late, is this, that *Lysis* escaped out of the Fire, kindled by the *Cylonians* at *Croton*; at which Time, a *Pythagoras* has hitherto been owned to be alive. Now it must be owned, that *Lysis* lived in *Olymp.* 97. when, at that Time, *Epaminondas*, about 19 Years old, and *Philip of Macedon* (when first delivered an Hostage to the *Thebans*) about 12, were committed to him to be instructed by him, tho' near the End of *Lysis*'s Life. *Lysis* was known to be at *Thebes* by *Arsas*, the fifth or sixth Successor of *Pythagoras*, at the School at *Croton*. This he learned from *Gorgias*,

gias, when he returned to *Sicily* from *Greece*, where he was desirous to learn the Art of War from *Pericles* (who died *Olymp.* 51, 4.) and *Thucydides*, not the Historian. *Gorgias* is known to be in *Greece*, by his then interceding for Succour for the *Leontines*, in the fifth Year of the *Peloponnesian* War, *Olymp.* 88. 2. *Lysis* had lain hidden some considerable Time at *Thebes*, after he and one Companion had escaped from the Burning at *Croton*; the *Pythagoreans* waited, to see whether the *Crotonians* would repent of their Villany committed against their Friends; of which, finding little hope, they leave *Italy*. At length the *Crotonians* recall the *Pythagoreans*. The Time was long before this was. *Lysis*, when he escaped out of the Fire, was νέος, that is, in his prime vigorous Age, a little above 30. This probably happened *Olymp.* 83. $\frac{3}{4}$.

THE *Cylonians* proceed, by various Steps, to this last Villany. They were exalted by their Victory over the *Sybarites*, yet durst not proceed to such Violence, whilst *Milo*, to whom that Victory was owing, and who was a Friend of the *Pythagoreans*, was alive. *Cylon* was the first enkindler of Hatred against the *Pythagoreans*, but the Fire seems not to be in his Time, in that it is not imputed to him, but to *Ninon*: And this some time after the Conquest of the *Sybarites*, and this after *Milo's* Death, in that we cannot imagine how, many *Pythagoreans* should have been burnt in his House, had he been alive, by whom the remarkable Victory over the *Sabyrites* was obtained, and he a Friend to the *Pythagoreans*.

WHILST

WHILST Cylon and Ninon in their Turns accused the *Pythagoreans*, Ninon produced a Book, entitled *Λόγος ἱερός*, which he pretended was written by a *Pythagorean*, wherein the *Arcana* of that Sect was disclosed, (tho' that was esteemed a high Crime among them) and such things recounted as might expose them to the Rage of the Populace. Now this preceded the *Fire*; at which 'tis concluded, that *Pythagoras* was absent, and most likely then dead: Yet 'tis evident, that *Lysis*, after he had escaped the Fire, was a Hearer of *Pythagoras*; who therefore could be no other than the younger *Pythagoras*, who was 40 Years younger than the *Philosopher*, and lived 117 Years after the Birth of the *Philosopher*; which occasioned some to assert, that the *Philosopher* lived 117 Years, by their confounding the two *Pythagoras's*.

THIS is farther made out by considering the Birth of *Gorgias*, which was in *Olymp.* 80. His having *Empedocles* for his Master, (who was Scholar to *Telauges*, the Son of *Pythagoras*, the *Philosopher*) as also the younger *Pythagoras*, (not at *Croton*, but somewhere else, probably at *Agri-gentum*.) *Empedocles* was born about *Olymp.* 77. one Year before *Pythagoras* the *Philosopher* died. He was Fellow-Disciple with *Zeno Eleates*, under *Parmenides*, who was born *Olymp.* 69. and taught at *Athens*, *Olymp.* 85. *Empedocles* heard *Anaxagoras*, who was *Præceptor* both of *Socrates* and *Pericles*. *Anaxagoras* was born, *Olymp.* 70. 1. and was 20 Years old at *Xerxes's* Expedition.

WHEREAS *Pythagoras* is said to have taught 20 Years at *Croton*, 'tis not so to be understood,
as

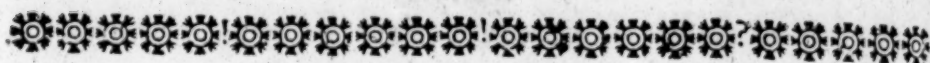
as if in that Time he was never absent from thence, (for he sometimes travelled, and might be in *Sicily* when *Phalaris* was slain ;) but that at the End of 20 Years, he, going to *Metapontum*, settled *Aristæus* as his Successor at *Croton*, to whom succeeded the younger *Pythagoras*, who (to distinguish him from the Philosopher) was called *Mnemarchus*, which was his first Name, and that of *Pythagoras* given him as an additional Name, probably by the Philosopher himself : From whence, what he said came to be more valued. [The Name of *Mnemarchus* made him sometimes confounded with the Father of the Philosopher.] This is he, whom *Lysis* heard, and was the Father of *Damo*, that was married to *Telauges*, Son of the Philosopher. To whose Care her Father, this younger *Pythagoras*, committed his *Writings*. *Lysis*, in his Epistle to *Hipparchus*, says, That he could never imagine, that after the Death of *Pythagoras*, the Scholars of that School should ever be dispersed ; which shews, that the *Cylonian* Fire happened after this *Pythagoras*'s Death. And from that Epistle the Time of that Fire is probably calculated, as well as the Death of this latter *Pythagoras*: The Fire, in *Olymp.* 83. 1. tho' possibly a little later ; this *Mnemarchus*'s Death about seven Years before it : And this deduced from several Circumstances.

MR. *Dodwell* having, in §. 1. of this second *Dissertation*, made some Alterations in his Chronological Computation, from what he had laid down in his Book *de Cyclis* ; he here freely acknowledges it, and gives his Reasons for it. He computes *Pythagoras* to have been born in the latter

latter End of *Olymp.* 52. $\frac{3}{4}$. by his being taken Captive by *Cambyfes* in *Egypt*, and by computing the exact Time of *Cambyfes*'s Expedition. He shews *Epimenides* to be later than what he had before asserted: The Time of *Pythagoras*'s leaving *Samos*, and undertaking his Travels, from the Time of *Polycrates*'s beginning his Tyranny; and this computed from that of *Lydamis* at *Naxos*, and this from that of *Pisistratus* at *Athens*: As also from the Time of *Cræsus* and *Cyrus*: From that of *Thales*'s Death, after which *Pythagoras* sought for Instructors in *Egypt*. Afterwards the Time of his Captivity among the *Persians*, (where he conversed with, and learned *Astronomy* from the *Magi*;) his Delivery from it by the Help of *Gillus*, in the Time of *Darius Hyst.* *Gillus* being a *Tarentine*, might occasion *Pythagoras*'s going into *Italy*; tho' before that, he is said to have visited *Crete* and *Lacedæmon*, that he might become acquainted with the *Laws* of *Minos* and *Lycurgus*. (*Pythagoras*'s Coming into *Italy*, at the Time of the Restauration of the *Greeks* to their Liberty, occasions the considering the double *Epocha* of this at *Athens*, viz. that at the Death of *Hipparchus*, and that at the Banishment of *Hippias*.) In this latter, *Pythagoras* came into *Italy*, about the Time of the Expulsion of *Tarquinius Superbus*, *Olymp.* 65. $\frac{3}{4}$. He was absent from *Croton*, *Olymp.* 68. $\frac{1}{4}$. and then in *Sicily*, when it was set free from Tyrants; and (among others) *Agrigentum* from *Phalaris*, and this (according to *Porphyrus*) by the Assistance of *Pythagoras*. *Pythagoras* afterwards left *Croton*, when he observed the Prevalency of the *Cylonian*

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Faction, being desirous to live at Ease ; for which Reason he formerly left his own Country.



C H A P. XXXIV.

Against Occasional Communion.



W H E N there was a false *Notion* too much entertained, and a scandalous *Practice* pursuant thereunto, that Persons might *occasionally* Communicate with other *Churches* that were of *different* Communion ; Mr. *Dodwell* wrote a *Treatise*, to evince the Falseness and Danger of this Opinion, (a). Wherein, having shewn, that this is not meant of Occasional Communion with *Churches* of the *same* Communion, and the Custom of the Primitive Christians, when travelling into other Countries, of receiving the *litteras formatas* from their Bishop, to attest their Communion with him, that they might be received into Communion with those *Churches* to which they removed : He shews, how different that Practice is, against which he here disputes, when Men Communicate with

(a) *The Title of which is, Occasional Communion fundamentally destructive of the Discipline of the Primitive Catholic Church, and contrary to the Doctrine of the latest Scriptures concerning Church Communion.*

Rebels, not only against their *own Bishop*, but also against *Episcopacy* itself, and by seeking to ruin that, ruin all lasting *Principles* of *Unity*, and hereby destroy *Unity*, which is pretended to be sought by this Practice. He then proceeds to shew, how contrary this is to the *Principles* and *Practices* of the *first* and best *Ages* of the *Church*; how *destructive* to that *Discipline*, which was then *universally* exercised, and the *Effects* thereof, that of *Excommunication*, which the first *Christians* dreaded more than any worldly *Consideration*: That the *Doctrine* then received was, that the *Orthodox Communion* alone was that which was entitled to have its *Communions* and *Excommunications* ratified in *Heaven*, as alone obliging the great *Bishop* of *Souls*, and thereby conveying a *Right* to all the *Merits* of *CHRIST*, and the heavenly *Benefits* of *mystical Communion*: And that all other *Communions* divided from her, were for that Reason presumed to be *divided* from the heavenly *Communion*, and therefore from *GOD* and *CHRIST*, and all the *Benefits* of the *mystical Communion* in *Heaven*. He then shews, that these *Principles* (which he more largely expresses) were so *fundamental* to the *Primitive Discipline*, that they could hardly fail of being *true*, but must certainly be *surer* than any *modern Reasonings* from the *sacred Text* at this *Distance*; considering that those earliest *Ages* had all the *Helps* of *Scriptures* that we have, and more *Helps* to *understand* them than we can pretend to at this *Distance*.

SEEING the Example of the *first Christians* communicating with the *Jews*, in their *Worship*,
Ec 2 might

might be produced, and was so, against the Cause which Mr. *Dodwell* undertook; he therefore largely considers it. He shews, that even the *Apostles* themselves were prejudiced against the great *Change* that was to be introduced by the Substitution of the *new Peculium* into the *Place* and *Privileges* of the *old*, and imagined, that the *Gentiles* should be received into the *Peculium* on the old Terms, viz. by *Circumcision*, till convinced by the *Vision* granted to *S. Peter*, and the Effusion of the *Spirit* on *Cornelius*, and them that were with him. Whilst of that Opinion, they must judge themselves obliged, to be *statedly* of the same Communion with the *Sanhedrin*. [Tho' they never communicated, no, not occasionally with the *Samaritans*.] On the *Jews* Blasphemy, indeed, the *Apostles* shook off the *Dust* of their *Feet* against them, as *piacular* Persons, and hence not to be conversed with, lest they should be involv'd in their Punishment: But this only concerned the *particular Places*, that were guilty of this Blasphemy, and not Communion with the whole Nation of the *Jews* in the *Temple*. Those might deprive the *Apostles* of the *Synagogue-Rights* within their own Jurisdiction, [here, Depriving Men of the Rights of Citizens is considered;] but this could not extend to the Rights of *other Synagogues*, with whom the *Apostles* conversed, till by their Blasphemy, they drew on themselves the same Denunciation of *Excision*. The *Separation* could not be *universal*, till it was made from the *Temple-Worship*, which was not till after the History of the *Acts of the Apostles* was ended. Till when, they were but one Com-
munion

munions with the *Sanhedrin*, in the Opinion of the Christians themselves; even after the Apostles had written their Epistles against the Obligation of the *Mosaick Law*. *Acts* xxi. 21. S. Paul, by S. James's Advice, manifests, that he himself (as a *Jew* by Nation) walked orderly, and kept the Law, viz. the *ritual Law*, took on him the Vow of a *Nazarite*, that he might have an Occasion to have a *Sacrifice* offered for him; which shew'd him alike subject to other *Ceremonial Laws*, *Deut.* xxvii. 26. *James* ii. 10. Occasional Communion and partial Obedience could not have purg'd him from that which was objected against him, that he walked not according to the Law: So that he was in stated Communion with the *Temple-Worship*. This is made out by what he said to the *High-Priest*, *Acts* xxiii. 4, 5. by what he said to *Agrippa*, *Acts* xxvi. 23. and to the *Jews* at *Rome*, *Acts* xxviii. 19, 21, 22. All which shew, that tho' they disliked the *Christians* as a *Seet*, yet that no Sentence, of publick Authority, had excluded them from the *Temple-Offices*, which were the only Ones in which that *whole Peculium* communicated. Hence not yet *Two Communions*, and hence no Temptation to a Communion that was only Occasional for *Christians* that were *Jews* by Extraction. Uncircumcised *Gentiles* were never admitted to *Jewish Sacrifices*. S. Paul was obliged to stated *Temple-Communion*, when he could have it, both as his *private Duty*, and also to avoid scandalizing the *Jewish Converts*, who were zealous for the Law. Our Blessed Saviour never countenanced any thing, to make the Duty of a native *Jew* inconsistent with the publick

Solemnities of that Nation. He fulfilled all *Righteousness*, was *circumcised*, paid the *Temple-Tax*, sent the *Leper* he had cured to the *Priests*, &c. His *Enemies* never charged Him with acting otherwise, when they sought for Reasons to take away His Life ; much less could this be objected against *S. John Baptist*. *S. Paul* acted consonantly to these Principles. He circumcised *S. Timothy*, because his Mother, being a *Jewess*, so far sanctified her Husband, as to make their common Children entitled to *Circumcision*. He would not circumcise *S. Titus*, because he was (ἑλλην) a *Gentile*, i. e. by both Parents, and therefore to be admitted into the *new Peculium*, without being *incorporated* into another Nation ; hereby asserting the Freedom of Gentile Converts from *Circumcision* revealed to *S. Peter*, and would not give way to the Imposers of it, no, *not for an Hour* ; and blames the Apostles themselves, for *dissembling* their Thoughts herein, for fear of offending the Convert *Jews*, Gal. ii. 5, 11, 12. Nothing was in this *occasional*, but the Effect of avowed Principles. *Separate Assemblies* were not then thought inconsistent with the publick *stated* Communion. Their *Hereticks* not esteemed such, unless they taught Doctrines, that were inconsistent with their Communion with the *Temple-Sacrifices* : Hence the *Christians*, tho' reputed an *Heresy*, were not therefore a *distinct* Communion from the *Temple*. The Case of the *Essenes* is considered. They were against *bloody Sacrifices* ; that theirs were *Effigies* of *Animals* made of *Dough*. Yet seeing they were made of *Corn*, the *first Fruits* of which were offered in the

the *Temple*, from which these received a *Consecration*, this might entitle them to the Body and Privileges of the *Peculium*. Especially when the *Essenes* were eminent for *Purity*, which might excuse them from *bloody Sacrifices*, and make their *Incense* and *Immolations*, in the Opinion of the *Jews*, as valuable in God's Sight, as the *bloody Sacrifices*, which were more *expensive*. These might have, tho' not Access to, yet Communion with, the *sacerdotal Office* performed at the *Holy Altar*, (i. e. of *Incense*) which was in the *ἁγία ἁγία καταπέτασμα*, *Heb. ix. 3*. In which Sense that might be true, which is related by *Hegesippus* (*Euseb. H. E. l. 2. §. 23.*) of *S. James*, that he was permitted *εἰς τὰ ἁγία εἰσιέναι*, to enter into the *Holy Place*.

BUT at last (as *S. Justin M. Dial. cum Tryph.* tells us) the *Jews* from *Jerusalem* (and therefore the *Sanhedrin*, who had Power to conclude all the *Jewish Synagogues* every where) sent chosen Men throughout the World, to declare the *Christians* to be *Atheists*, *unholy*, and *ἄνομοι*, (probably, because they communicated with *uncircumcised Gentiles* in *Holy Offices*) and therefore not to be *communicated* with, and as they that had no more Claim to the *Sacrifices* of the *Peculium* than the *Gentiles* themselves. This must end in a Breach of Communion with the *Christians*; which happened before the Destruction of the *Temple*; for after that Time no Authority was left them: And, but a little before, that is, before they began their *Hostilities* against the *Romans*, in that after this, they had no Leisure to do this, neither could they hope for a *Compliance* from their Bre-

thren in an *Enemy's Country*: Probably about the Year LXIII, in which S. *James* was martyred, as ἀνομος, as one communicating with uncircumcised *Jews* in *sacred Offices*: And the Time when the Christians removed to *Pella*, even at the Time of the *Passover*, (for which they now shew'd an Indifferency) as being then mark'd out for Destruction. Before which Time, the *Jews* at *Jerusalem* seem more favourable to Christians, than other *Jews* were, (it being those of *Asia* that raised the Tumult against S. *Paul*, and it was in the Dispersion, that the *Jews* persecuted the Christians;) and this, because the Christians there had a greater Favour for the *Law*. If the *Breach* of Communion began not in that Year LXIII, it must be before LXVI, in which the *Jewish War* began.

HENCE it appears, that S. *Paul's* Compliances make nothing for Occasional Communion, in that they were not with unbelieving *Jews*, who had no Right to the *Eucharistical Altar*, *Heb. xiii. 10.* So far was it from that, that all Christians were obliged to communicate with S. *James*, (as is shewn in the *Paranesis*) with whom S. *Paul* himself communicated. Whilst he himself asserted the Freedom of the Gentiles from the *Jewish Yoke*, he shew'd the necessity of being united unto that particular Church; of being ingrafted into the natural *Jewish Olive*, that Church which, at its first Constitution, consisted of none but *Jews* by Nation. Where-ever he communicated, he communicated with that Body, whose Offence he was so careful to avoid, as far as was consistent with the *Laws*
of

of the *new Peculium*; and therefore this Communion was constant, and *stated*, and not only *Occasional*. But he communicated with those *Jews*, who could not join in *Holy Offices* with *uncircumcised* Believers. His *partaking* with them of the same *Temple-Sacrifices*, did not imply his owning them of the *new Peculium*, till they could dispose themselves to communicate at our *Evangelical Eucharistical Altar*, to which carnal *Israelites* had no *Right*. Here Mr. Dodwell largely shews the Difference of S. Paul's Case from that of our *Nonconformists*. When the believing *Judaizers* had heard of S. Peter's Vision, of the Effusion of the Spirit on *Cornelius*, of the *Miracles* that seconded S. Paul's and *Barnabas's* Preaching to the *Gentiles*, and what the *Apostles* decreed upon the Hearing hereof, *Acts* xv. Myriads of believing *Jews* received Satisfaction from this, and, without doubt, continued in *complete* Communion: They paid a *Deference* to their *Ecclesiastical* Governors. *Nonconformists* are disaffected, not only to the Governors, but also the Government itself, which alone can *unite* us. The believing *Judaizers* only desired to observe what they had been inured to; but neither *broke* Communion themselves, nor *encouraged* others to do it, nor *imposed* their own Opinions on others, and were contented that all Difference of Opinion should die with them.

§ 13. HERE Mr. Dodwell questions, whether the *Anathematisms* of the *Jews* made the *Christians* a distinct Communion, and excluded them from the publick Sacrifices: Because the Design of such Curses [the *Degrees* of which mention'd by the

the *Rabbins* seem to be their own Invention] was to consign over the anathematized Person, to capital Punishments, if not inflicted by *Men*, yet by *GOD* Himself immediately. This was a general received Opinion, that *GOD* was obliged to inflict the Punishment, to which the covenanting Person, by his own *Imprecation*, had made himself liable, being one of the Revelations which *GOD* made in the first Ages of the World. [Of which Mr. *Dodwell* here discourses; and of the Original of those Laws, commonly called the *Laws* of *Nature* and *Nations*.] There's an *Agreement* among ancient Nations in this; and that this was for the Good of *Societies*, before the Settlement of *Commerce*, being the Security of *Justice*, where *Humane Securities* were insufficient; of the *Oppressed* against the *Oppressors*; of *Predecessors* against their *Successors*; and of *Covenants* in general, when either of the Contracting Parties might grow too strong for *Coercion* by the other. Hence *GOD* obliged His own *Peculium* to imprecate Curses on themselves from Mount *Ebal*, as a *Security* for their Performing their Covenant made with Him, for succeeding Generations. This brought the whole Nation under Guilt, if they were negligent in punishing single Persons, when guilty of the Violation of *National Covenants*; by the Neglect whereof they contracted a *Contagion* of Guilt, till expiated by the *Death* of the Criminal; as in the Case of *Achan* and *Zimri*. Tho' *Banishment* and *Slavery* were such Expiations among the *Heathens*, yet only *Death* made the Atonement for piacular Offences among the *Jews*. This made it not so necessary for

for them, to denounce a *distinct* Sentence for excluding anathematized Christians from the *Temple Sacrifices*, when the *Capitalness* of the *Anathematism* was sufficient to put it out of their Power to communicate at the *Altar* of the *Temple*, in that by doing it they hazarded their Lives. Withall, they thought them, who by these *Curfes* were deliver'd over to the Power of *evil Spirits*, unfit for Communion with the *good Spirit*. Before this Breach, the Communion of the *Christian Jews*, with the *Jews* in the *Temple*, was *constant*: None before *Cornelius* were admitted into the *Peculium* without *Circumcision*: Hence then no Communion, not even Occasional, could be had with *uncircumcised* Gentiles, *Acts* x. 14. and 11. 8. After that, *Baptism* was that which only incorporated into the *new Peculium*. Then the *Jewish* Observations could not entitle the Observers of them to the *true Peculium*, without our *Christian Sacraments*. [What they did in observing the *Mosaick Law*, was not as a *Peculium*, but as a *Nation*.] The *Native Jews* were obliged to *constant* and *stated* Communion in our *Christian Sacraments*, and hence as *one* with all the *Christian Brotherhood*, so *divided* from all those who were *divided* from the Christians. There could then remain no Place for *Occasional Communion*. As for the *Temple Communion*, that was not the Communion of *Christians*, as *Christians*, that by which they could hope to be made Partakers of the *Mystical*, and *Heavenly Communion*; neither was there any thing, that could hinder both Communion, either with the *Temple*, or the *Church*, from being *constant*. But, at last, that Communion

nion with the Temple was broken off, by the Anathematisms of the *Sanhedrin*, and from thenceforward, no *Christian* communicated with the *Jews* occasionally, no more than the *Apostles* did with the *Synagogues*, after they were separated from them. From that Time, tho' they said they were *Jews*, they were not, but they lyed; being not Believers, and the Children of Faithful *Abraham*; but Blasphemers, and Persecutors, and of the *Synagogue of Satan*, Rev. ii. 10. and hence on no account to be communicated with, no not occasionally. An Account of this cannot be expected from the *Acts of the Apostles*, it being after the Time That History ends, and probably about the End of the *Apostles* Age, when their Prejudices were removed, and they fitted for new *Revelations*, which were gradually granted to 'em, as they were fitted to receive them: And when upon a Ceasing of extraordinary Officers, grounded on extraordinary *χαρίσματα*, the *Apostles* should find it requisite to provide what was necessary for the *Subsistence* of the Church, which required the highest Degree of *Inspiration*; which was to expire with the Persons of the *Apostles*. Then the ordinary Government, and ordinary Communion, were settled, which were to be derived to future Ages. And indeed, the Nature of Communion could hardly be known, till there were Divisions among Christians, which were only clandestine, (as *Hegesippus* informs us) till after the Death of the *Apostles*. 'Tis not therefore strange, that *Ignatius* should be more perspicuous, about the Obligation to Church-Communion, than what we find in the *Scriptures* themselves: And that

that we rely so much on the *consentient* Tradition of the *next Ages*, against Occasional Communion, as they are a firmer Proof of the *Sense* of the *Apostles* themselves, than can be expected from the *Scripture* itself, there being then so little Obligation to signify their *Sense* of it.

BUT there's enough from *Scripture-Principles*, if not from *Scripture-Faëts*, to evince the *Merit* of this Cause, 1 *Joh.* i. 3. There's a *κοινωνία*, a *Communion*, and that *External* with the *Apostles*; which was to be maintained by *Visible Sacraments*: The *κοινωνία* of the *Bread* entitled Persons to the *κοινωνία* of the *Body* of CHRIST, (1 *Cor.* x. 16.) that is, made them *Members* of the *Visible Church*. The *Eucharist* did as much confederate *Christians* into *one Body*, as the *Sacrifices* either of *Jews*, or *Heathens* did, and *distinguished* them from all other *Bodies*, who had no Right to partake of the *Eucharist*; as the *Jews* had not, *Hebr.* xiii. 10. much less the *Heathens*. One single *Act* of *Communion* made the *Communicant* *one* with the *Body* to which the *Communion* belong'd: Nay farther, the *Scripture* shews, that those who have not a Right to the same *κοινωνία*, ought not to maintain any *Sacred Commerce* with each other, 2 *Cor.* vi. 14. Where there's an *expres Command*, for *Separating* from them that have not the Right of *κοινωνία*, and the Reason thereof, they being *unclean*, as other *Communions* were esteemed, and derived a *Contagion* to the *Communicants*, inconsistent with the *Holiness* of the *Peculium*: And where *GOD* refuses to accept them for his *Children*, who would not *separate* from these? 'Tis supposed
to

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to be as equally unlawful; to communicate in any *Holy Offices*, with those of another *Communion*, as to join with those that were *legally unclean*, in any *Temple Offices*, 2 *Joh. x.* S. *John* forbids the giving the *Salutatory Prayer*, the lowest Act of Holy Communion, to such: To those that did not abide in διδαχῇ, the Doctrine of CHRIST, keep firm to his *School*; to the *Bishops*, who succeeded the *Apostles* therein, and were to be διδασκτικοί. How then could they allow any *Occasional Communion* with such, with whom the lowest Acts of *Sacred Offices* involv'd the *Communicants* in the same Cause?

THE *Principles* on which S. *John* reasons, (1 *Joh. i. 3.*) make this clear; who persuades *Dividers* to Communion with himself, and the surviving *Apostles*, in that there could be no (κοινωνία) Communion with the *Father* and the *Son*, no *Heavenly Communion*, without communicating with the Authorized *Representatives* of the *Father* and the *Son* here on Earth, viz. with the *Apostles*, and after with their Successors, the *Bishops*. This appears from the Form of *Baptism*, in the Name of all the Persons of the Trinity, by which all baptized Persons are admitted into Communion with the *Father* and the *Son*; and from the *Ratification* in *Heaven*, of the Sentences pronounced by the *visible Bishop* on *Earth*. The many Promises made by CHRIST; such as of *being with them to the End of the World*, and the like, shew, that this Communion was not confined to the Age of the *Apostles*. These *Principles* cannot be reconciled with a *Diversity* of *Communion*s, one *stated*, the other only *occasional*.

Nay,

Nay farther, S. *John's* Reasoning supposes those who are out of the *true* Communion, to be in a State of (the *second*) *Death*; explain'd from the Phrases of the *Pythagoreans*]; of *Darkness*, of *Hell*, and therefore in Subjection to the *Prince of Darkness*, in Communion with the *Devil* himself; of *Error*, and therefore under the πνεύματα πλάνης, which must be *evil Spirits*, 1 *Tim.* iv. 1. Here's an affectionate Address to *Latitudinarians*, to consider this; how the Worship of the *best* of *Heathen Deities*, in *M. Antoninus*, or *Epicteetus*, was by the first Christians judg'd no better than the *Worship of Devils*. S. *Ignatius* (*ad Smyrn.* § 9.) makes all Acts of Assemblies, separate from Bishops, to be a *Worship of the Devil*. This Expression is vindicated from the vile Censure of *Mr. Calamy*. In *Rev.* ii. 9. and iii. 9. zealot *Jews* are said to be of the *Synagogue of Satan*. These were *Jews* by Extraction, intimated by the Word *Synagogue*, they having, since the Desolation of the *Temple*, no publick Worship but in *Synagogues*; neither would others pretend to be such, at this time, when the *Jews* were under great Pressures. These lyed, in that they were not true *Israelites*, they were only the Seed of *Abraham's Flesh*, not of his *Faith*; to which Privilege, therefore, the *Believing Gentiles* had a better Title. We cannot suppose these *Jews* to be guilty of *heathenish* Idolatry, in that they worshipped the *Supreme Being*, when others worshipped their *Local Deities*; which was their great *Glory*, which they would not easily have quitted; Yet these are called the *Synagogue of Satan*. The Reason of which was, because they were *divided* from

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from the true *Peculium*, from the true *Jews*, the true *Israelites*; the *Privilege* of whom alone it was, to be in Communion with the *Father* and the *Son*. The Expressions, *Rev. ii. 10.* of the *Devil casting some into Prison*, so *ver. 13.* *Satan's Seat*, denote the Enmity of the *Jews*. Those who appeared to *divide* the *Church* in that Age, are thus treated, *2 Thess. ii. 9.* *2 Cor. iv. 4.* And such the *Apostle* esteems all, before their Reception into the true Communion, *Eph. ii. 23.* And indeed, the best *Liver* before that, was esteem'd as one that was actually under the Power of the *Devil*. He was to *renounce* the *Devil* ἀποτάσσειν, the same time he profess'd his σύνταξιν with *CHRIST*: He was supposed of the *Devil's Army*, before he was join'd with his *lawful Prince*. He was *exorcised*, which supposed him before that possessed by the *Devil*. *Excommunicates* and *Separatists* were thought to be in the same *Subjection* to the *Devil*, as before their *Admission* by *Baptism*, *1 Cor. v. 5.* Besides, the *Reasonings* of the *Scripture* suppose no Mean between *Light* and *Darkness*, between being in the *Communion* of the *Church*, and under the *Power* of the *Devil*. They can have no *Communion* with *CHRIST*, who have it not with His Authorized *Representatives*, *Luk. x. 16.* *CHRIST's Disciples* are said, *not* to be of *this World*, as being His who is *Prince* of the *World to come*. This distinguishes them from all others, who are of the *World*, that is, under the *Dominion* of the *Prince* of this *World*. Hence being *out* of the *Church*, is being in a *State* of *Hostility*, the *World* being an *opposite Body*. These *Enemies* were supposed to be under the *Devil's*

ἐνέπρεια,

ἐνεργεῖα, to be *Energumeni*, the Devil possessing and dwelling in them, (as the Father, Son and Spirit, were supposed to do in the true *Peculium*) which Inhabitation made them *unclean*, and unfit for Communion with pure Spirits. Consequently, not so much as occasionally to be communicated with. Farther, 'tis generally owned, that all Mankind are by Original Sin enslaved to the Devil; that they cannot be delivered from that Slavery but by CHRIST; that He has only purchased that Delivery for His *Elect*; and withall, 'tis evident, that by the *Elect*, the γένος ἐκλεκτὸν, are meant GOD's *Peculium*: Whole Churches are saluted as *elect*; and all are *elect*, who are of the *visible Church*: None can prove their *Election*, but by their being of the *visible Church*, and this by being in Subjection to CHRIST's subordinate *visible Governors*, and their communicating in His *visible Sacraments*: If they renounce Dependence on the *visible Governors* of the *visible Church*, they cannot be *Members* of CHRIST's Church, and in Subjection to Him, and thence they again become *Slaves* to the Devil. CHRIST intended this *Deliverance* from Slavery for all Men, on Condition of their incorporating themselves into that Body, of which He is the Head; and leaving this *World*, which is subject to Satan, Joh. xvii. 19, 20, 21. *Mystical Communion* with the Father and the Son, 1 Joh. i. 3.) is evidenc'd by our *visible Communion* in the *Sacraments*. After this, 'tis shewn how perfectly this is agreeable to the Sense of those *Philosophers*, whose *Phrases* are principally used and alluded to in the *Revelations* of the *New Testament*. These speak of the

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Soul's Fall from its *Cælestial* State, and losing its *Wings*, its being thence confined to *Matter*, and under the Dominion of such *Spirits* that were Authors of *Changes*, and under *Darkness*. That the Exemption from this State was by Purgatives, by *Fire* and *Water*; that the Author of this Deliverance was the *Logos*, whose *κρατήρ* was the *Sun*; and that they, who had not the *Divine Principle* from the *Logos*, were still under the Power of *ὕλη* and its *Dæmon*. Hence many of those *Heathens* were favourable to the *Jews*, and cite the *Old Testament* with Reverence; and that there was so good an Understanding between the *mysticizing Jews* of that Age, and the *Platonists* and *Pythagoreans*. And 'tis no wonder that the *Apostles*, and *Apostolical Writers*, who had favoured these Opinions before their Conversion to *Christianity*, should still retain a Favour to them, if they found nothing contrary to the *Revelations* of the *Gospel*. Here the Phrases of both are compared; and particularly the Raising our Souls above the Extent of the Devil's Jurisdiction by the *Λόγος* or *Πνεῦμα*, called *Λόγος ἐμφύτος*; and as this *Spirit* is derived to us from the *Second Adam*, the *Logos*, the *Lord from Heaven*, and this given to us in His *Baptism*, which was not only of *Water*, but also of the *Spirit*. This therefore all *unbaptized* Persons are supposed to want; *Baptism* being the *Laver of Regeneration* to a *Divine Life*, which entitles us to Heaven. Farther, (having premised that *all Sins* are not Breaches of the *Baptismal Covenant*, nor, considering the Goodness of God, to be looked upon as such) he shews the sad Condition of those *Communicants* who faultily leave

leave the true Communion, in that GOD interprets their Defection from His *Representatives* as a Defection from His *own* Government, and their Owning an opposite Communion as an Act of *Hostility* against Himself. Hence that they are destitute of the *good Spirit*, the *Bond* of whose *Unity* they have *broken*, and repossessed by the *evil Spirit*; and hereby their State *worse* than before, *Matth.* xii. 45. *2 Pet.* ii. 20, 21, 22. *Hebr.* vi. 4, 5, 6. and x. 25, 26, 27. Their still naming the *Name* of CHRIST, is no Alleviation of their Crime, when they are in *Rebellion* against His *Representatives*. Hence 'tis not lawful, no not *occasionally*, to *communicate* with such; especially when the Case is the Overthrowing of the whole Order of *Episcopacy*, when they know that this Order was universally received as *supreme*, and *unaccountable* to any *superiour* Judicatory on Earth; in relation to *Spirituals*. It was not pretended in Favour of a *Rival* Power, who might pretend a better Right by the Laws of *Succession*; (in which Case an Error might be pardonable;) but a manifest Defection from all the visible Authority of the *Church* for the Time being, and hence a Rebellion against CHRIST Himself, in that it is against those that visibly *represent* Him, *Exod.* xvi. 8. *1 Sam.* viii. 7. *Luk.* x. 16. This altering GOD's Constitution by Force, tends to *legitimate* for the future all *violent* Exercises of *unrightful* Power for destroying His *Establisshments*; and puts the *Legislative* Power into the Hands of *Rebels*, who govern by their *own Wills*, not GOD's, and yet have the Boldness to pretend His Authority, when they act in *Defiance* of it.

THE Charge of Hypocrisy in Occasional Communion is considered. 'Tis not *Faith*, but *Sacraments* that incorporate us; and our receiving them implies that we *own* and *profess* that Incorporation, and they of the same Communion have Reason to understand us that we, from our communicating with them, own ourselves one with them. And withall, our communicating in *Sacraments* with those that are *divided* from us, is a *Profession* that we are *united* to them. What can purge *two* such *contrary* Professions from Prevarication? The Reason is, that Christians are not *now* so well instructed and agreed in the true *Nature* of *Christian Communion*, as settled by the *Apostles*, and the *Arguments* used to shew the *Inconsistency* of *opposite* Communions. This is not to be imputed to the *Insufficiency* of those Arguments, but Want of *Diligence* in examining them, and the *Prejudices* of *Education*; which will not excuse from *Prevarication*, tho' the Communicants be not *conscious* of their being guilty of it. Our *hard* Thoughts of their Condition ought not to be taken ill, when grounded on solid Reasonings; but should put them on Care to *comply* with *Divine Institutions*, and not easily to *slight* the Judgment of those whom God has invested with His *own Authority*, tho' on Pretence of an *Appeal* to the *Supreme Judicatory* at the great Day of Judgment. 'Tis not credible that GOD will allow this in the Case of a *visible Jurisdiction* constituted by Himself.

FARTHER, *Occasional Communion* is evidenced not to be the Way to *Peace* and *Union*, but downright *Hostility*. *Soldiers* in an Army, who *cor-*
respond

respond with *Enemies*, are themselves judg'd *Enemies*, and treated accordingly: Much more so, if their chief Residence be in the *Enemies Quarters*; which is the Case of those who communicate *statedly* in *Schism*, and only *occasionally* with the *Church*; especially if they justify such Practices by *Principles*, and plead that they are in *Conscience* obliged to do so. This is plainly to *own* the *Enemy's*, for the better, Cause. In vain is their Pretence to *Union*, who justify *Rebellion*, not only against the *Governors*, *Bishops*, but also the *Government*, that of *Bishops* itself. Whenever the *Magistrate* deserts the Cause of *Episcopacy*, nothing then can oblige them, as the *Primitive Christians* thought themselves obliged, to continue *one Body* with the *Bishop*, who is the *Principle of Unity*.

As for the Plea, that Multitudes of *Profelytes* might be brought in by Allowance of *Occasional Communion*; our *Experience* will not furnish us with many *Thorough-Converts*: And if they retain their *hostile Principles*, they are the more dangerous by *seeming* to be *Profelytes*, and by being *numerous*; having thereby greater Opportunities by being *owned* as Members of the *Body* to do it, than could be effected by open Hostilities: This is shewn in many Respects, and by the Example of the *Long Parliament*, and the *Assembly of Divines*, in the old Rebellion, who ruin'd the *Church* with which themselves communicated. By admitting such to *Trusts* and *Authority*, we put it into their Power to *ruin* our *Doctrine* and *Discipline*, whenever they prove to be *too numerous* for Persons that are *better affected*.

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MR. *Dodwell* concludes this Discourse with an *Address* to the *Bishops*, by telling them, that if *Zeal* is commendable in all, even in the *Laity*, how much more in them, by imitating the Example of the *great Bishop* of our Souls, *S. Joh. ii. 17.* Of *David*, who was a Type of Him; of *Phineas*, nay, even of *GOD* Himself, *Isai. lix. 17.* That, considering they are entrusted with the *Power* and *Discipline* of the *Church*, these should not suffer by their *Neglect*: And hence they should not permit *open Enemies*, avowedly professing Hostilities, to be *owned* as Members of their *Body*, meerly because they *profess* themselves such; when they ought to give *Security*, by renouncing their *Schismatical* Facts, and *Schismatical* Principles, for want of which they often return to their former *Vomit*. He tells the *Bishops* how they become involv'd in the *Guilt* of *Heresies*, *Schisms*, and scandalous *Immoralities*, and the *Souls* that thereby perish, when Authority is ruin'd by Admission of Members on such *Terms*. He propounds the glorious Example of their Predecessors of the Tribe of *Levi*, *Exod. xxxii. 21.* and the Commendation thereof, *Deut. xxxiii. 9. 10.* especially, when in this Case there will be no *Harm* to the *Bodies* of any, but the greatest *Advantage* for their greatest Interests, if themselves please.

THIS Treatise was published in the Year 1705.



C H A P. XXXV.

Incensing no Apostolical Tradition.



ABOUT the Year 1707, a Person of good Learning, and great Sagacity, of the Isle of *Man*, tho' concealing his Name, requested Mr. *Dodwell's* Thoughts upon these *Two Enquiries*. *First*, "Whether the *Church of England* had just Reasons, when she reformed, to lay aside the Use of *Incense*, which was practised in all Churches before our Quarrel with the *Church of Rome*. *Secondly*, The Anointing with Oil." To this last he made no Answer. But to the first he drew up his Thoughts, (dated *Sept. 8. 1709.* tho' not published till the Year 1711.) and therein considers what had been propounded as Reasons for the Use of *Incense* in Gospel-Times. As that of *Isai. lx. 6.* which Mr. *Dodwell* owns may relate to the *Frankincense* offered by the *Magi* to CHRIST; and as such, by which they adored him as GOD. But when it was presented as a Gift, being a Product of their own Country, out of their *Treasures*, and not as *Incense* out of their *Censers*; this could be no reasonable *Precedent* for burning *Incense*, which was introduced in later

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Ages of the Church: No, tho' it had by the *Magi* been *burned* as *Incense*, if not agreeable with the *Change* of *Worship* afterwards made by *CHRIST* Himself. In that *Text*, we are not to understand *literal* *Incense*, but the *mystical* *Incense* of *Prayers*; especially, when the *Cattle*, mentioned together with the *Incense*, could not, even by the *latter Canons*, be offer'd at the *Altar*, as the *Incense* was.

THAT *Text* of *Mal. i. 11.* where it is foretold, that in *Gospel-Times*, *Incense* should be offered, seems more *plausible*, when 'tis joined with a *pure Oblation*, a fit Name for the *Eucharist*, which is an *unbloody Sacrifice*; and when the *Extent* thereof is to the *Gentiles*, every where, and not confined to the *Jews*: Especially, if the *Apostolical Canons* (which mention θυμίαμα in the *Time* of the *Holy Offering*) were as ancient as *Bishop Beveridge* supposed them to be. But *Mr. Dodwell* takes them to be Part of the (pretended) *Apostolical Constitutions*. And then shews what the *Sentiments* of the *Fathers* were in the three first *Centuries*. That *Tertullian* indeed mentions the *Use* of *Frankincense* among *Christians*, but not as *Incense*, but in *Burials*. The *Use* of which in *Burials* among the *Romans* is here shewn, before *Burning*; and the *Continuance* of that *Use* among *Jews* and *Christians*, especially in *Honour* to the *Martyrs*. *Incense* was a *Worship* confined to the *Temple*, and none were to compound it but *Levitical Priests*; and so 'tis appropriate to the *old Peculium*, by the *old Legislation*: Not therefore to be continued but by a *new Legislation*: But this was not enacted anew
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by the *Apostles*, or afterwards by the *Episcopal College*. It was no part of the *Synagogue Worship*, the chief *Precedent* among Christians. Mr. *Dodwell* then shews, that it is not a *Law of Nature* or *Nations*. Not the *Tree of Life*; not raised in *Paradise*, or in the *Antediluvian World*: Nor after used, till *Arabia Felix*, where *Spices* grew, was known. These, when for *Pleasure* sought, must be late. The *Jews*, when lying nearer to *Arabia*, probably had them, by *Land-Carriage*, sooner than the *Greeks*. These could not have them before the Use of *Navigation*, and that most probably from the *Phœnicians*. The Lateness of *Incense* is shewn from *Theophrastus*, as he is cited by *Porphyry*, *de Abstinencia*, l. 2. § 5. where the Gradation of Religious Oblations are enumerated; beginning with *Grass*, *Plants*, &c. and so from Things *simple*, to those that were more *exquisite*, according as they became more luxurious in their Diet. The *Verbenæ* were the first Sacrifices of the *Romans*, and these consecrated by *Fire*, as having the nearest Resemblance of the *Sun* and *Heavenly Bodies*, which were the first Deities of the Heathens. They sacrificed *Acorns*, or *Fruits*, which were the *native Commodities* of their own Country; that of *Frankincense* was brought in in *later Ages*, and the Name ἀρώματα given to them, from the *Curses* denounced against the first Introducers of them. Hence, seeing *Incense* is of so late an Original, and cannot pass for a *Law of Nature*, or a *Divine Institution*, when God conversed (as at first) more familiarly with Mankind than afterwards; and seeing it was required not from any *prime Intention*

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Intention grounded on God's Approbation of the *Thing itself*, but on some *secondary Intention*: It was in the Number of those Things that were to be laid aside under the *Gospel*; not among those Things, which at that great Concussion *could not be shaken*, and therefore were to remain, *Hebr. xii. 26.* Where the Institutions of the *old* and *new* Legislation did interfere, the *old* were to be abolished. The *Jewish* Converts could never have endured that the *uncircumcised Christians* should be admitted to the *Temple Incense*, nor permit it in any other Place or Assembly, but the *Temple*, or to be offer'd by any but *Levitical* Priests; unless there had been some *new* Authority to continue it under the *Gospel*. This was one Part of the *Partition-Wall* to be broken down, to make *Jews* and *Gentiles* one. And *S. Barnabas's* Reasoning, that we should offer *ourselves* to *God*, seeing *God* had evacuated the *Sacrifices* under the Law, supposes the Evacuation of *Incense*, as well as of other *legal* Sacrifices, That of *Rev. v. 8.* and *viii. 3, 4.* which mentions *Incense* as relating to the *Gospel*, is by *S. John* himself interpreted to be the *mystical Incense* of the *Prayers of the Saints*. These were fitly represented by the *Smoak* of *Incense* directly ascending towards Heaven, and thereby, as *Abel's*, manifested to be *accepted of God*: As the *Golden Altar* in the *Revelations* was no *visible Christian Altar* on Earth, but that which was represented by the *Altar of Incense* in that part of the *Temple*, to which only the *Priests* approached. And from this Text 'tis shewn, that the *Christians* had not then any *Altar* for offering *Incense*, distinct from
that

that of the *Jews*. And that this Book of the *Revelations* was written by *S. John the Presbyter*, and after the Death of *S. John the Apostle*. After this, *Mr. Dodwell* gives us the Testimony of *S. Justin M.* against Incense, as also of *Athenagoras*, *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, (who allows it not to be lawful for Christians to trade in selling Frankincense) *Minutius Felix*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *S. Cyprian*, *Origen*, (who argues against *Thurification*, as that which gratified Demons) *Arnobius*, (who makes the use of Frankincense in Divine Worship to be a novel thing, among both the *Romans* and *Etrurians*, they using only Corn; and infers thence, that in his own Time it was used vainly and impertinently, which he would not have said, if the *Christian Church* had then used it.) So *Lactantius* from *Trismegistus*. *Eusebius*, who declares that Incense is not to be paid to the *Supreme Being*, or to the *Divine Powers* that are next him. So *S. Athanasius*. For when the *Heathens* (in order to gratify the *Arians*, and *Constantius* who befriended them) favoured, and joined in the Affronts put upon *Athanasius*, and together with them, famigated the Ensigns of the *Episcopal Dignity* of *Athanasius*, and prophaned the *Christian Sacra*; that Father interprets this, as if the *Arians* joined with the *Heathens*, and celebrated the Praises of their Idols, and acted the Parts of *Heathens*, and that they prophaned the *Christian Utensils* by Frankincense. 'Tis here shewn, that the Reasonings of both *Heathens* and *Arians* in this Case, would have been groundless, had the Practice of the Church in this Particular of Incense been the same as it was after;
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it being then agreed on all hands, that *Incensing* was a *Pagan Rite*; and that none but *Enemies to Christianity* could endure it, and this by the *Confession of Enemies* as well as *Friends*. *S. Basil* makes *Incense* an *Abomination* to the Lord, without any *Exception*. *Cyril of Alexandria* disowns all other *Incense* among *Christians*, but what was *spiritual* and *mystical*; and makes *Fire*, by which the *Incense* was offered, only *symbolical*, as representing the *Divine Spirit*. This he could not have written in *Opposition* to *Julian*, had he known the *Use* of sensible *Incense* or *Fire* among *Christians*. The same is shewn to be the *Sentiment* of the *Latins*: As of *Maximus Taurinensis*. And how *S. Ambrose's* Words, that seem to imply the *Use* of *Incense*, are only *metaphorical*, (and not to be understood *literally*) in *Allusion* to the *Oblation* of *Zacharias*: Which appears, in that *Zeno of Verona*, of the *Jurisdiction* of *Milan*, (who is shewn to live about that *Time*) disclaims all *consumptive* *Sacrifices*.

THE earliest *Testimony* for *Incense*, produced by *Bishop Beveridge*, is that of *Hippolytus*. Under his Name, two several *Works* were published. That at *Paris*, *Anno* 1557, is shewn to be much later than *Hippolytus* the *Martyr*; nay, later than 625, (from the *Encomiums* given to the *Cross*, from ἀρvēμαί, which is made the Number of the *Beast*, from θεοτόκος, &c.) Nay, after 647, when the *Successors* of the false Prophet *Mahomet* had overcome *Egypt*, *Libya* and *Ethiopia*, which this Author supposes to be the three *Horns* in *Daniel*. Yet that he wrote before the Year 700, when *Image-Worship* arose. Otherwise, he would

would have complained of the Rage of *Anti-christ*, as a *Jew*, against *Images*, as well as against *Incense*.

SEEING the *first* Mention of *Incense* used by Christians, was, its being used as a Token of Respect paid to *Heraclius*, upon his Reception into *Jerusalem*; Mr. *Dodwell* conjectures from thence, what was the Occasion of its being introduced into *Ecclesiastical* Offices. The *Heathens* esteemed the *Augustean* Dignity as *Divine*, and offered *Incense* to them and their *Statues*. Hence was *Julian's* Artifice, to make the Christian Soldiers guilty of *Idolatry*, by throwing in some Grains of *Frankincense*, that by paying that as a *civil* Respect to *himself*, they might pay *religious* Honour to his *false* Gods, whose Images were in his *Vexilla*. Thus afterwards in the *Church*, a Respect was paid to the Gospels, as *Symbols* of the *Divine* Presence, taken for such (probably) from *Rev. iv. 6*. And to the *Eucharist* on the same Reason: And hence in later Ages both *fumigated*.

WHEN *Incense* was so late, Mr. *Dodwell* infers, that the *Variation* of *modern* Churches, in the *Use* thereof, and the *Doctrine* of the *Catholick* Church about it in the *first* and *purest* Ages, is a great *Proof*, that even the *Consent* of more *numerous* Churches in *later* Ages ought not to be taken for a certain *Proof*, that what *greater* Numbers of Churches in *middle* Ages do agree in, ought therefore to be *presumed* to have descended from truly *Apostolical* Tradition; or to *prescribe* against Recourse to Originals for trying the *Merit* of the Cause. When we have no new *Revelations*,

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lations, less than which cannot be pleaded for GOD's *Acceptance* of Sacrifices; no *Constitutions* under the Gospel can be *shaken*; which was foretold of those under the *Law*. No ground now for *Innovations*, Gal. i. 8.

MIDDLE Ages pretended either *Apostolick Writings*, which they forged; or *new Revelations*, and *new Miracles* to confirm them. Such new Revelations must be *renounced* by those present Governors who have a Zeal for restoring *Primitive Catholick Communion* on truly *Primitive Catholick Terms*. And these Governors are the true Judges (when this Renunciation is to be made) who are themselves neither *Schismatical*, nor *Heretical*. *Jewish Incense* was not requisite (thence abominable) because it excluded *Gentile-Converts* from being of God's *Peculium*, as being not admitted to it. This Reason cannot be urged against the Practice of it *now*, and hence *Incense* is not *unlawful* on that *Account*, as now practised. Nor that Reason, (which some urged against it) because *unsuitable* to the *Supreme Being*, as being only fitted to *corporeal Beings*. For if this Reason had been *perpetual*, GOD Himself would never have endured this; or *bloody Sacrifices*, which would have been, on the same Reason, inconsistent with His Nature. But as the *Jews*, notwithstanding the Use of these, thought GOD *incorporeal*; so may *Christians*, notwithstanding the Use of *Incense*.

SEEING Heathens worshipped their *tutelar Deities*, even such as were of an *inferiour Degree*, by *Incense*; GOD appropriated this to Himself, that hereby no such *inferiour Gods* should share with

with Him in the *publick Worship* of His own *Peculium* ; by which Appropriation, the giving of this to *inferiour* Deities became *Idolatry*, tho' in its *own Nature* it was not *proper* to Him. So that God's Design in appropriating this [as is here also shewn in respect to Prohibition of *Images*] seems to be, that no *publick solemn Worship* should be paid, in the *publick Assemblies*, to any but the *Supreme Being* ; when, even this way of *Worship*, which seems most suited to their *Nature*, was forbidden to be paid them in the *publick Assemblies*. This contradicts the *modern* way of worshipping *Saints*, by incensing their Resemblances, whether Statues, or Pictures. For it is as much the Privilege of the *new Peculium*, to be under the Care of the *Supreme Being*, and to have this appropriated to it, as it was of the *old*. And therefore the *Angel* (Rev. xix. 10. and xxii. 8, 9.) refuses *προσκύνησιν*, *Angels* being not *Governors* under the *Supreme Being*, but *Fellow-Servants*, *leitourgia pneúmata*. The later Churches have therefore opposed God, both in making *new Objects of Worship*, that of *Saints* and *Angels* ; and by doing it by *Incense*, which God intended only as *temporary* ; it being not of *primary Intention*, but appropriated by God to Himself, to prevent its being paid (as 'twas by *Heathens*) to *inferiour* Beings, and *tutelar* Deities ; that the *Jews* might own Him as their *tutelar* God, as He had taken them to be His *peculiar* People ; and hence to *cease* on the general Reception of the *Gospel*, when there would be no need of this Means of securing it from being abused. Both these ought to be *reformed*. Especially,

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cially, if we consider, that *incensing Images* was condemned by the *Primitive Church* in their coeval *Hereticks*, the *Carpocratians*, *Irenæus*, l. i. c. 24. And by *S. Augustin*, who interprets the *Carpocratian* Sacrifices to be *Incense*.

MR. Dodwell then endeavours, to find out when *Incense* was first introduced into the *Christian Church*. That (notwithstanding what *Platina* says) it was used at *Rome* and *Arles* before *Leo III.* And that, probably, it was received in the *Church of Rome*, when the *Fifty Apostolical Canons* were received by that Church, soon after those Canons were translated by *Dionysius Exiguus*. And this, notwithstanding the pretended *Testimony* concerning the *Apostolical Canons* of *S. Isidore of Sevil* to the contrary; which is confuted, and proved to be supposititious. Here *Mr. Dodwell* makes Enquiry into the Antiquity of the *Greek Canons* themselves, that are styled *Apostolical*. The first that mentions 85 *Apostolical Canons*, was *John of Antioch*, that collected Canons a little before *Ann. Domini 564*, under 60 Titles. *Dionysius Exiguus's* Translation was before that, seeing he knew but of 50 Canons before *Justinian's* Time. Here is shewn the *Occasion* and *Way* of gathering *Apostolical Canons*. Those Practices were presumed to be such, which they found not instituted by *Councils*, and yet received by *immemorial Tradition*. From the Time of the Reception of the *Dionysian Code*, the Use of *Incense* in the *Western Church* is accounted for: That, probably, before that Time, in the *Suburbicarian District*, it had been practised; so afterwards, it was from thence easilier received

ved in other Churches. But *This*, and the *Apostolical Canons*, were lately received in *Spain*, and *Africk*. And it is most probable, that as those *Canons* (and also the pretended *Areopagite*) were first known in the *East*, so the *earliest* Instances of *Incensing* were *Eastern*. Where, at first, it was used by *private* Persons, by way of *Congratulation*; and after, by Degrees, as *Sacrificial*. The Desire of *Ephræm Syrus*, in his last *Will*, as to forbear *Funeral Pomp*, so not to give *vaporationem fumi boni odoris in domo Domini*, but rather to accompany him with their *Prayers*, &c. The Meaning is, that he would not be *embalmed* with *Spices*, nor have the like Honours from their perfumed *Cerei*, *Wax-Candles*; but instead thereof, designs the *mystical Incense* of their *Prayers*. This rather seems to be the Work of one that *personates* that humble Man, than of *Ephræm* himself.

MR. *Dodwell* then proceeds to shew, how late *Incense* was brought into the *Liturgick* Offices in *France* and *Spain*, from the MSS. of those Offices published by *Mabillon*; in that the *ancienter* MSS. have no Mention of them, particularly, the *Gotbo-Gallican* Liturgy, which must be after *Ann. Domini* 678, in that it mentions *Leodegarius*, who suffered Martyrdom that Year: Nor two other that were later. The first that mentions *Incense*, is *Missale Francorum*, shewn to be after the Year 754. When *Charles the Great* was made King, who endeavoured to bring the *Gallican* Churches to a nearer Conformity with that of *Rome*, which was begun by *Pepin* about *Paris*, with respect to the Way of *Singing*; but that

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Roman Sacramentary (which was that wherein the *Eucharistical Incense* was concerned) was later. This seems occasioned by *Elipandus's* insisting on some Expressions in the *Old Offices*, as favouring his *Heresy*; which was condemned *Anno Domini 794*. Hence an Uniformity in Divine Offices; and in order thereto, the *Roman Liturgy* was introduced, as judged the best *Standard* to prevent Innovations; and this by Means of the Council of *Frankfort*, tho' not now appearing in the few Fragments that remain of that Council. Here Mr. *Dodwell* shews, that the *Gallican Sacramentary*, published by *Mabillon*, was not for the *Parisian* but *Austrasian* District, where the *Roman Practice* of *Thurification* was received later than at *Paris*. Yet no elder than the Time of *Charles the Great*, tho' elder than the Introduction of the *Gregorian Sacramentary*. [Here are some Observations about the *Paschal Lamb*, eaten by *Christians* at this Time, and after, at their Breaking of their *Lent Fast*: Which tho' forbidden, was yet for a considerable Time retained *ad Mensam*, tho' not *ad Altare*.] Tho' *Charles the Great* designed, yet he could never effect, a complete Uniformity with *Rome* in *Sacred Offices*. And here 'tis shewn, that the *Missale Gallicanum vetus*, published by *Mabillon*, was no elder than the Time of *Ludovicus Pius*, wherein his *Sons* were made *Kings*; there being *Prayers* made therein for *Kings*, together with the *Roman Empire*. And that, tho' there was a great Uniformity with the *Roman Church* then advanced, yet still *deficient*, and particularly in respect to *Incensing*. The *Character* in which
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that *Missal* is written, is shewn to be no certain Argument of its *Antiquity*, in that People are tenacious of what they have been accustomed to: [Of which, Instances are here given.] Especially, when, in this Case, the *old Character* might recommend it to the Valuers of *Antiquity*. And here 'tis shewn, that *Charles the Great* did only accomplish the Introduction of the Way of Singing into the *Austrasian* Jurisdiction under *Metz*, but did not suppress the private *Gallican Offices*, (as appears from *Amalarius*, who lived *Anno Domini* 827.) And that their Conformity with *Rome*, was not because they judged themselves obliged by the *Roman Precedent*. Then 'tis shewn, that there were great Alterations in the *Roman Offices*, and that what were used in the Time of *Agobardus*, were not the same in all things as in the Time of *Gregory the Great*: That 'tis impossible to know the *Particulars* wherein the Change was made, unless we had a *coeval* Copy of the Liturgy that was used in that Pope's Time: That that published by *Menardus*, cannot be proved to be such: And that this Particular of *Incense* was not then received in the *Gallican Churches* of the *Austrasian* District, how common soever it was in the *Roman Offices* of those Times; those being not universally received. And that this appears by the *Disputes* betwixt *Amalarius* and *Agobardus*, where no Notice is taken of the sensible *consumptive* Oblation as offered on the *Christian Altar* of *Incense*, tho' there was occasion for the Mention thereof in their Disputes, had it been then used in that Province wherein they lived. The Collection of

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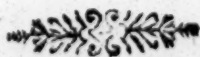
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that *Missal* is written, is shewn to be no certain Argument of its *Antiquity*, in that People are tenacious of what they have been accustomed to : [Of which, Instances are here given.] Especially, when, in this Case, the *old Character* might recommend it to the Valuers of *Antiquity*. And here 'tis shewn, that *Charles the Great* did only accomplish the Introduction of the Way of *Singing* into the *Austrasian* Jurisdiction under *Metz*, but did not suppress the private *Gallican Offices*, (as appears from *Amalarius*, who lived *Anno Domini* 827.) And that their Conformity with *Rome*, was not because they judged themselves obliged by the *Roman Precedent*. Then 'tis shewn, that there were great Alterations in the *Roman Offices*, and that what were used in the Time of *Agobardus*, were not the same in all things as in the Time of *Gregory the Great* : That 'tis impossible to know the *Particulars* wherein the *Change* was made, unless we had a *coeval Copy* of the Liturgy that was used in that Pope's Time : That *that* published by *Menardus*, cannot be proved to be such : And that this Particular of *Incense* was not then received in the *Gallican Churches* of the *Austrasian District*, how common soever it was in the *Roman Offices* of those *Times*; those being not universally received. And that this appears by the *Disputes* betwixt *Amalarius* and *Agobardus*, where no Notice is taken of the sensible *consumptive Oblation* as offered on the *Christian Altar* of *Incense*, tho' there was occasion for the Mention thereof in their *Disputes*, had it been *then* used in that Province wherein they lived. The Collection of

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Canons sent by Pope *Hadrian* to *Charles the Great*, among which are the 50 *Apostolical Canons*, and thence that relating to *Incense* had a Place, do not appear to have been *ratified* by any legal Reception that might oblige Subjects to receive any Custom unknown before, upon their *Authority*. The likeliest Reason of receiving it, might be the Reception of the pretended Works of *Dionysius the Areopagite*, the Patron of the *Gallican Nation*, sent as a Present from *Greece* to *Ludovicus Pius*: Especially, when a Vision of that Apostolical *Dionysius's* offering *Incense* had introduced the Practice thereof in the *Parisian District*.

MR. *Dodwell* was the willinger to undertake this Subject, to shew, that this Practice of *Incensing* was an Innovation from the Practice of the first and purest Churches, and the Traditions derived from the Apostles; taken up in the middle Ages, and, by Degrees, universally received both in the *Eastern* and *Western Churches*: That he might thereby evince, (as 'tis in the *Title Page*) that even the *Consent* of those Churches of the middle Ages, is no certain Argument, that even the Particulars, wherein they are supposed to *consent*, were faithfully derived from the Apostles: And this in Opposition to the modern Assertors of the *Infallibility* of *Oral Tradition*. On which Reason this Tract is highly valuable; and also, it delivers much of Ecclesiastical Antiquities not ordinarily observed, and all written with great Perspicuity.





CHAP. XXXVI.

A Case in View considered.

 S Mr. Dodwell had exerted his Zeal in *vindicating* the deprived Bishops, and shewing the *Duty* of Christians still to *communicate* with them, that they who were set up against these deprived Fathers, were guilty of *Schism*, and those that joined with these, Rivals : So was he very desirous that this *Rupture* (if it might be done safely and justly) might be *closed*, and a good *End* put to this unhappy *Schism*. When therefore the deprived Bishops were brought to a small Number, he wrote a Discourse, *Anno Domini* 1705, call'd "*A Case in View considered*, " to shew, that [in case the then invalidly deprived *Fathers* should leave all their Sees *vacant*, either by *Death* or *Resignation*] we should " not *then* be obliged to keep up our *Separation* " from *those Bishops*, who were as yet (the Time " he wrote) involved in the *Guilt* of that unhappy *Schism*." In which Discourse, having premised the Seasonableness of stating the *Case* before it fell, as preventing *Heats* when it should fall; he begins with shewing, from the *Law* of *Nations*, the Favour that is always allowed to the present *Possessors*, when there is none else

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who has a *better* Claim than the Possessor himself, antecedently to his *Possession*; without the Allowance of which, Disputes would be endless: That this is the true Ground of the *Right of Prescription* granted by *Consent* of *civilized Nations*: These *Rules of Equity*, whereby Men deal with each other, are approved by God Himself, in that He is pleased to prescribe them to Himself in His Dealings with Men; as in *Covenants*, and *Oaths*. Now, since God has withdrawn His *extraordinary* Ways (as *Lots*, &c.) of designing Persons, they, who are *alone* in Possession of an Office, (without *Rivals*) of which Office no more than *one* at one *time* is capable, are, for that Reason, to be presumed as *designed* for that Office by God Himself: Especially, such an Office as that of *Bishops*, which was *Divine*, and for ever to be continued in the *Church*, even after the *Oracular Designations* of the *Persons* were discontinued, and hence to be kept up, after that Time, by the *ordinary* Ways of keeping up a Succession in Societies. Οὐσαί ἐξοταί, *Rom. xiii. 1.* If this hold in *civil* Societies, 'tis more cogent in the *Church*, for which God is more particularly concerned, it being His own *Peculium*. If in all Offices in the Church, then especially in that of a *Bishop*, it being the *Supreme* Office, from which the Subordinate derive their Authority. Which being derived from God, it must be so now, by His authorizing Rules for *continuing* the Succession upon the failing of particular Successors, and thence, by leaving the Nomination to the *Prudence* of the *supreme* Governors for the Time being. And 'twill follow hence, that Possession

session and Prescription must have the same Force for legitimating *Possessors*, as is generally allowed in the *Successions* of single *Persons*, in Bodies wholly *secular*. It must be allowed here, where there are none but single *Possessors* of *Rights*, of which none but single *Persons* are capable; and there can be no doubt of the *Person*, where is no more than *one* that pretends a Claim to be that *Person*. In this Case, we can no more justify our *Separation* from such a one, than we could, if we had begun a *Separation* before *Altar* was erected against *Altar*. The *Titles* of such being given in *Schism*, by which being *secundi*, and thence *nulli*, will not excuse us from our Duty to these *Possessors*, when there are no *Rivals*, and hence this *Nullity* ceases: And this it must do, when the Reason of their being *nulli*, was, because they were *secundi*, which they cease to be when they have no *Rivals*. As for the Objection, that *Schism* cuts off the *Persons*, guilty thereof, from the *Catholick Church*; from which some infer, that the *Schism* will not *die* with the *Persons* of our injured *Fathers*; and, in consequence hereof, we may make our *Addresses* to *Scotland*, or *Sweden*, &c. for a *Succession*: 'Tis answered, that the *Schism* of particular *Churches* from the *Catholick Church* on Earth, results from the *Right* a particular *Bishop* has to have his *Acts* ratified in *Heaven*, and therefore ceases when there is no particular *Bishop* in the *District* opposite to the *Possessor*, the *Possessor* being the *Principle of Unity*. The *Body*, that is divided from that *Bishop*, is divided from that *Church*, and from *CHRIST*, and therefore cannot oblige foreign Churches.

Churches. If *Foreigners* (who are obliged to observe the *Rules* of *Catholick* Correspondence, as also civilized *Nations* to observe the *Law* of *Nations*) shall concern themselves in *Jurisdiccions* not belonging to 'em, without any Obligation to do so, (which can only be, when the Bishop is not found in the *Faith*, and when it is to assert the Right of a Bishop of the Place) they involve *themselves*, and the *Subjects* that shall join with them in doing so, in the *Guilt* of *Schism*; which latter, considering the previous Obligation, is most *criminal*. In Matters of *Faith*, and these of great *Moment*, there is just ground for *Separation* from Bishops that deny them. This is pretended by some, with respect to the *Doctrines* of *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance*. In answer to which we should consider, that these *Doctrines* are secured by *Laws*, and by the *Interests* that all Governments have in them; that they are *owned* by our *Adversaries* themselves, tho' their *Practice* is *different* from their *Principles*; and the *Principles* may be as secure, as many other *Principles* are, which are *inconsistent* with other *Immoralities*, which prevail as universally as these unwarrantable *Practices*. The *Misapplication* here, is only *Temporary* and *Personal*, and therefore likely to *expire* with the *Persons* concerned in it. Our *Uniting* may become a *Means* to secure these *Principles*. As for the *Judgment* of *Occasional Communicants*, when they are only *equivocally*, and not truly Members of the Church of *England*, their *Suffrages* (how *numerous* soever they are) cannot fairly be taken for the *Sense* of the *Body*, when they own not themselves *obliged* to
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be subject to the *Laws* and *Government* of it, a thing necessary in a Member of a *Voluntary Society*. The Mischief from the *Infection* of these ill Companions, to the debauching of others, is here shewn; and how our *Reconciliation* may be a Means to prevent such *Apostasy*, and to recover such as may have *lapsed*, and to secure the *Doctrines* themselves.

THE *Doctrine* of the *Independency* of the *Church* on the *State*, is *fundamental* to the very *Being* of a *Church*, as it is a *Spiritual Society*. Little Assistance from *foreign Churches* is to be expected in Maintenance hereof. [Tho' the *Scottish Calvinists* have carried this *Doctrine* too high, for which, 'tis possible, the *Episcopals* in *Scotland* are the better.] But there's no Need of Recourse to any, in that the *Rights* of the *Church* have never been better *understood*, nor more *universally received*, than since the *Violation* of them. This shewn by the *Pleas* that have been made for the *Lay-Deprivation* of our Fathers; particularly their owning them still to be *Bishops* of the *Catholick Church*, but denying their *Right* to their *Dioceses*, which they suppose to be the *Gifts* of *Princes*, and thence *resumable* at the Pleasure of them that gave them. The Falseness of which is here shewn. This and other *Shifts* shew how unwilling they are to ascribe the *Deprivation* of our Holy Fathers to a *Lay-Authority*, and hence how little Need there is of keeping up a *Separation* to preserve this *Doctrine* of the *Independency* of the *Church* on the *State*. Especially, when the present *Subterfuges* for excusing the Schism are not likely to pass into a *Precedent*, whilst our Adver-
saries

faries agree with us in the general Principle of the *Independency* of the *Church* on the *State*, and when put on a Review of their former *Pretences*, which if reckon'd on, can never fail of ruining a *National Church*, whenever it shall be *persecuted* by the entire Legislative Power of the Nation: This will be enough to hinder their present *Practice* from passing into a *Precedent*.

Tho' Reasoning from *Facts*, without regard to *Principles*, is uncertain, yet here no Facts of any Antiquity can be pretended to justify Recourse to *Foreigners* for keeping up an *opposite* Succession to Schismatical *Rivals*, after the *Death*, or *Cession*, of those who had a *better Title*; when we own no *extraneous Metropolitan*, have abjured our Dependence on any *foreign Prelate* whatsoever. The Rights of a *single Person* in a *vacant See*, after the *Death* of an *injured Predecessor*, and the *No-Retrospection* into the Validity of the Acts of *injurious Predecessors*, (whilst the *Schism* was yet *depending*) after the *injurious Possessors* were alone possessed without any *Rival*, who could pretend a *better Claim*, is manifested in the Case of *S. Chrysostome*, largely represented; and in the Proposal made to the *Donatist Bishops*, in order to unite them, *Collat. Carthag. c. 16.* And in the Succession to *Meletius* in the *See of Antioch*, who made a Proposal, at his Return from Exile, (at which Time *Paulinus* had been put into his See) that all might unite under the *Survivor*, which was accepted by the Neighbouring Bishops. After, tho' a sad Schism ensued, yet it was closed, when (and on that Reason, because) there was left only *one Possessor*. The Case of *Meletius*

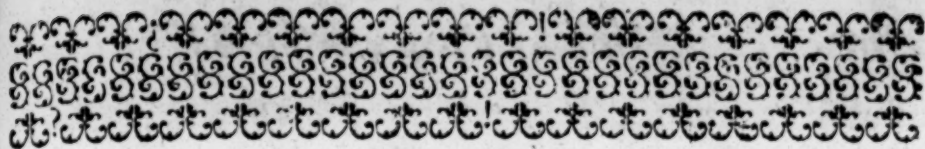
thus being received anew by the βεβαίωσις of a
 μυστικώτέρα χειροτονία, decreed by the Council of
 Nice, is here consider'd. He was deprived by
 his *Metropolitan*, against whom he was a *Rebel*;
 but besides, he was deprived for *Sacrificing* to the
 Devil, which made him incapable of being a
 Member of CHRIST, and much less a *Bishop* that
 represented CHRIST. 'Tis most probable, that
 the more mystical *Imposition of Hands* in the Ni-
 cene Decree, was that *Imposition* used in Recei-
 ving of *Penitents*, (rather than that of *Ordination*)
 and that that alone should suffice, without a new
Baptism, which was judged requisite in the Re-
 conciliation of the *Samosatenian Penitents*. This
Imposition of Hands by the *Bishop*, was then
 thought requisite for *Converts* from all opposite
 Communion, in order to the Recovery of the
Spirit, which had been lost by their *Division*.
 This Treatment of the *Meletians*, was to let
 them understand, that tho' their Reception into
 the Church, was like that of other *Penitents*;
 yet that they might expect a Favour which no o-
 ther *Penitents* could pretend to, that the same
Imposition of Hands should qualify them, not on-
 ly for the *Communion* of the *Catholick Church*, but
 also for continuing the same *Offices* in it, which
 they had before received in their *Separation*. Thus
Innocent I. is shewn to have understood the Coun-
 cil of *Nice*, in the Case of the *Bonosiaci*; nor did
 that Pope scruple the Lawfulness of Receiving Or-
 ders given without the Church, tho' he esteemed
 it as a Favour, and that revocable at Pleasure.
 Hence Mr. *Dodwell* concludes, that what was in-
 validly given in *Schism*, might gain a *Validity*,
 which

which it wanted before, by the *Church's Consent*, (when the *Person* was *capable* of it, and the *Impediments removed*, which before had hinder'd it) without a *new Investiture*: And that he knew not one *single Instance*, in any tolerable *Antiquity*, wherein a *foreign Assistance* was desired for *continuing a Succession*, after a *Devolution* to a *single Person*, purely on Account of the *Invalidity* of what had been transacted *during the Schism*.

AFTER it had pleased GOD to take to Himself, on *Jan. 1. Anno 1710-11*, that excellent Person the Bishop of *Norwich*, Dr. *Lloyd*, and only one of the invalidly Deprived Fathers, the truly pious Primitive Bishop, the Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, Dr. *Ken* survived; Mr. *Dodwell*, with some other Friends, wrote to him, to know whether he challenged our Subjection: He returned his Answer, that he did not, and withall signified his Desire that the Breach might be closed by our joining with the present Bishops, giving his Reasons for it. Upon this Mr. *Dodwell*, with other Friends, accordingly joined in Communion with them, tho' others did not.

THIS our good Man was exceedingly concerned for, and hence wrote that Discourse, entitled, *The Case in View, now in Fact*: This being a Prosecution of the former, tho' written some Years after, I choose here to give an Account thereof.





C H A P. XXXVII.

The Case in View, now in Fact.



ERE having taken Notice of our *Un-*
willingness, had not we in Con-
science been necessitated thereto, to
forbear *Communion* with the greatest
part of the *National Church*, he ho-
ped that all would have been glad
of the Opportunity of returning to the former
Unity, on the *same Terms*, on which we were
one formerly, before the *Invasions* on the *Sacred*
Power; laments the *Opposition* thereof, and the
Invention of *new Principles* to defend it; and
shews the many mischievous *Consequences*, which
probably would ensue thereupon, leading to *Sects*,
Popery, or *Scepticism*. He then shews that the
Case in View is now *actually* come to pass by the
Death of the Bishop of *Norwich*, and the *Sur-*
rendry of the Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, there be-
ing not now two *Claimers* of the *same Altar*, of
which the *Dispossessed* had the *better Title*: That
if our *Adversaries* had such Bishops from *foreign*
Parts, whose *Orders* were owned *valid*, and they
permitted by the *Government*; that this would
not excuse them from *Schism* from the *Catholick*
Church, if they should presume to *exercise* the
Power given them in any *Occupied Diocese* with-
out the *Ordinary's Leave*; and this from the *Rules*
of

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of *Primitive Discipline* derived from the *Apostles*: And that by the same *Rules* they could not expect a *Ratification* of any of their *Acts* in *Heaven*: This none can hope for, but such who have received such *Authority* from *Heaven*, which is now conveyed by a *Succession* from the *Apostles*, and that by *Powers* for the *Time being*, who are empowered to convey it by *Established Rules*. And farther, the *Subjects* of such *encroaching Bishops* cannot, in *Reason*, hope for the *mystical Benefits* of *Communion*, such as *Remission* of *Sins*, and the *Baptismal Spirit*, the *Bond* of the *mystical Union* with *CHRIST*, and the *Earnest* of *future Glory*.

SEGREGATION from *Episcopal Communion*, under *Presbyters*, cannot secure the *Name* of a *Church* as a *privileged Body*, they being unable to *give* or *receive Communicatory Letters*, by which *Catholick Communion* was anciently maintained: Nor secure any of the *Privileges* belonging to the *Church*, in that the *Dispensing* thereof is appropriated to *Bishops*, (*Baptism* being not to be administered without the *Consent* of the *Bishop* in the *Primitive Time*.) However, (1.) *Presbyters* cannot *Ordain*, thence their *Power* must *expire* with them. (2.) Nor give the *mystical Union* of the *Spirit*, which is *essential* to the *Being* of a *Church*, as it signifies a *privileged Body*. (3.) In *Schism* their *Acts* must be *invalid*, as the *Commission* of a *Rebel Officer*, tho' granted by the *Lawful Prince*, expires with his *Rebellion*.

OUR Adversaries are unwilling to lie under the *Imputation* of *Schism*, charged justly on the *Sectarian Conventicles*; yet this *Segregation* under
Presby-

Presbyters only, will, at length, dispose them who are guilty of it, to acquiesce under a *Presbytery*: In that this will force them to enlarge the *Rights* of *Presbyters*, in giving them Power of *Confirmation*, and at length of *Ordination*, when otherwise they cannot carry on their *Separation* beyond the *present Generation*. Supposing *Bishops* validly ordained, enjoying *Secular Advantages*, and *Primitive Liberties* (taken away by *Henry VIII.*) restored to them; if they exercise their Authority in *Jurisdictions* already occupied, they are *Enemies* to *CHRIST* Himself, whilst they act *Hostilities* against His *Lawful Representatives*, and their *Acts* are invalid. These *Reasonings* shewn to be the same, as whilst the *schismatical Consecrations* lasted, because these invaded the *Sees* which were not canonically *vacant*, tho' they had *Episcopal Power* given them by such who had a *Right* to give it. Farther, supposing that the fore-mention'd *Bishops* had all that Power conferred on them, which our late invalidly *deprived* Fathers were *possessed* of, even that of acting in the *Name* of the *Church of England*; yet even that Power could not warrant their *continuing* a *Separation* since the *Death* of those who had given it to them; because it cannot now be done without *Injury* to a surviving *Canonical Successor*, there being now no *Altar* that has any more than *one* who can fairly lay *Claim* to it. Our late Fathers might, if they had intended it, have continued the *Schism*; but this they could not effect, without substituting *Successors* in some of their own *Sees*, which might have still *survived* them, and thereby hinder'd those *Sees* from being *Vacancies*.

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A general *Intention* to give the *whole Power* could not effect it, nor any general *Acts* signifying that *Intention*: Neither could the giving of such a Power, not to be exercised till the *Death* of the last *Survivor* of those who gave it, have been *valid*. Then follows an Exhortation to our late Brethren, and a Consideration of some Things which they require in order to Uniting. The Case of the *Joannites*, in Defence of *S. Chrysostome*, is vastly different from the present Case; nor can the same *Satisfaction* be fairly insisted on *now*, as was *then* paid.

HERESY (with which some of the present Bishops are (not causelessly) charged) is a considerable Plea, but it cannot justify Separation from the whole *Episcopal College*, before they be *deprived* by a judicial Sentence pronounced by their proper *Judges*, their *Brethren* of the *Synod*. A *Convict Malefactor* ought not to be put to Death, but by an authorized *Executioner*. This holds more in *Spirituals*. The Way of punishing *Hetical* Bishops, must be either that of *Excommunication*, or *Deprivation*: But these cannot possibly be allowed to the *Subjects* of those Bishops from whom the Separation is made, and consequently they are still obliged to *Subjection* to them. Nay farther, by Separation from the *Communion* of such Bishops of the *Districts* in which they live, they make themselves not only a *distinct*, but also an *opposite* *Communion*: And if *opposite*, then (considering that *both* cannot be *ratified* in Heaven) they may justly fear a *Ratification* in Heaven, which may *exclude* them from coming *thither*. *Vital Influences* of the *Mystical Body*

Body are not otherwise derived to particular *Members*, than by their *Union* with the *Visible Head*. Their own *Act* of *Separation* cuts them off from participating such *Cælestial* Benefits, much more a *Judicial* Sentence pronounced by such a *Bishop*.

THEN is shewn, what Subjects may do when their *Bishop* is guilty of *Heresy*, but that none but *Superiors* have a Right to *excommunicate* them, and none but that allowed even in the Time of the *Apostles*, *Tit.* iii. 10. παρατεῖν signifies *Exclusion*, *Tit.* xiii. Rebuking, ἀποτίμωσις. This is evidenced by what is said to the *Angels* of the Churches, *Rev.* ii, and iii. This is shewn to agree with the Time of *Ignatius*, from several Passages in his Epistles; in which *Bishops* are made the *Standards* of *Orthodoxy*, as well as of *Unity*: To them, from the Time of the *Apostles*, the Christian *Faith*, as a *Depositum*, was committed, when derived downwards to all succeeding Generations in its *Primitive* Simplicity. [Hence a *Bishop* was to be διδασκίμος.] As it had been at first revealed to the *Apostles*, and by them committed to such extraordinary Persons as *Timothy* and *Titus*, (who were invested with Apostolick Authority by the Apostles themselves) and this (as *Civil Deposita* used to be) before many *Witnesses*, that they might teach, and commit it to others, 2 *Tim.* ii. 2. Then the Authority of *Determining* Matters of *Faith*, was only lodged in the *Apostles* themselves, to whom the *Revelations*, that made them Matter of *Faith*, were immediately granted; and no otherwise to any others; but as it was agreeable to what the *Apostles* delivered: No *private* Evidence could countervail

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the Authority of the *Apostles*. But after that Time, as *Tradition* was made use of to prove any Doctrine to be Matter of Faith, so the *Bishops*, who were generally (*ἀπαρχαί*) the first Converts of the Church, and had extraordinary *χαρίσματα*, and Persons of approved Fidelity, were the most *authentick Witnesses* of what was delivered by the *Apostles*. Hence, when afterwards *Hereticks* pretended that their *Doctrines* descended from the *Apostles*, Enquiry was made thereof; and in order thereto, *Hegesippus* and others had Recourse to the *Matrices Ecclesiae*, and the Testimonies of the *Bishops* thereof were most insisted on, as the *authorized Trustees* of what was delivered by the *Apostles*. And thus it continued whilst *Bishops* were *unanimous* in their Traditions. But when *Bishops* differed amongst themselves, then each *particular* Person was to judge for himself, yet not so, as to oblige others, the *Ecclesiastical* Body, to be of his Mind: [He must not attempt any thing that looks like the *Exercise* of *Ecclesiastical Authority*.] Tho' this was in later Ages allowed to *Bishops* met in *general Councils*, as their known *Prerogative*. *Subordinate Clergy-men* were not allowed to prevent the Judgment of their *Bishops*, where Faith was concerned. However, supposing this allowed, this will not excuse their *separating* from their *Bishops* Communion. None can *absolve* them from their Duty, but they who can *deprive* him of his *Rightful Power*, on which their Duty is grounded: None can do this but a *synodical Assembly* of *Bishops*, like to that from whom he received it. Communion is a *Prerogative* of the *Episcopal* Order,

der, as it is *Supreme*. The *Bishops* had the Right of giving *Communicatory Letters*, and none but they. The *Bishop* was believed to be the *Principle* of the *mystical Cœlestial Unity*, from whom whosoever was *divided*, had no more Ground to hope for the *Vital Influences* derived from *CHRIST*, than the *Body* when separated from the *Head*. None can *excommunicate*, and deliver over to *Satan*, (which Phrase is here explained) but the *Bishop*. *Ecclesiastical Subjects* cannot pretend to it: However, not to exercise it on the *Supreme Government* itself, of what Dignity soever such *Subjects* are. They cannot deprive their *Superiors* of an *Authority* derived from *GOD* Himself. They have no more *lawful Power* to rid the Church of heretical Bishops, than temporal Subjects have to rid the State of *ill-managing* temporal Princes. But they of the *Episcopal College*, by whom these heretical Bishops had their Authority conferred on them, deprive them thereof, (tho' not allowable in the *State*.) Then the Duty of *Subjection* is extinguished. And it cannot be done otherwise, as it may be in the *State*, where, in the original Constitution, such a Power is reserved. Where a *Bishop* teaches *Heresy*, 'tis sufficient for the Subject *not to believe* it, and when not made a Condition of Communion, and the Doctrine of their Predecessors is supposed the Condition of Communion.

THO' *Canons* may be dispensed with by them who have a Right to *make* and *execute* them, when Circumstances require it; yet this gives no Right to *private* Persons to do it, nor will it excuse their Zeal who *violate* them, nor excuse them

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from the Punishment of their *sacrilegious* Usurpation. The *Jewish* Zealots never presumed to vent their Zeal against *criminal* Judges, much less ought it to be done under the Gospel. How far Zeal against *heretical* Bishops may be expressed by Subjects, is here shewn; viz. by *Arguments*, *Prayer* for their *Conversion*, or (when unreclaimable) their *Removal*, and by *Passive Obedience*: But not to join in *opposite Altars* against them. For the Allowance of that would be *destructive* of *Government*, and an *Encouragement* to *Schism*, if Subjects might be allowed, even in Defence of a *good Cause*, to act *beyond* the *Powers* lawfully conferred upon them.

As *true Faith* is necessary to Salvation, so likewise is *true Communion*; nay, *Faith* is not sufficient without the *true Communion*, in that this last makes us *God's peculiar People*, who are *His* by *Covenant*, to whom the Promises stipulated by that *Covenant* do belong. Hence *Baptism*, which initiates into the *true Communion*, is required even in all *Believers*: And *Infants* are admitted thereby, tho' incapable of *actual Faith*. This made *Penitents* submit to great *Austerities*, in order to the Recovery of the *true Communion*, who had been ejected from it, tho' not for any *Error* in the *Faith*.

BUT withall, *Communion* is a *Doctrine* *divinely revealed*, of *arbitrary Institution*, and highly *fundamental* to the Being of a *Church*, and, consequently, a *Doctrine* of *Faith*. Farther, *God* has *revealed* several other *Doctrines* here specified, which oblige us in *Conscience* to *unite* ourselves into *one Communion*. Hence is shewn, how our *Adversaries* violate *more fundamental Doctrines* by

by their *Separation*, than they can pretend to *preserve* by it, in that the *Doctrines* which are *fundamental* to the *Communion* and *Authority* of the *Church*, qualify her, as a *Trustee*, for the *Preservation* of other *Doctrines* committed to her *Trust*. The *Catholick Doctrine* of *Non-Resistance* is not *changed*, nor the contrary made a *Term* of *Communion* by the *Bishops*, by the *Decree* of the *House of Lords* for *burning* the *Oxford Decree*. This was no *judicial Act* of the *Church of England*; had no respect to *Communion*: This was never expected since as a *Term* of *Communion*: This was no *separate Act* of the *Bishops*, and the *temporal Lords* have nothing to do with the purely *spiritual Rights* of the *Church*. The *Bishops* might be *outvoted* by a *Majority* of *Seculars*. This argued in respect to the *Imposition* of the *Oaths*, for the *Refusal* of which our *Fathers* were *deprived*. *Bishops* sit in *Parliament* as *Barons*, which is purely *Secular*. The *Parliament* itself (even by *King Henry VIII.*'s *Laws*) cannot yet make *new Articles* of *Faith* without the *Consent* of the *Clergy*, much less are the *Lords* alone *empower'd* to do it.

WHATEVER *singular Opinions* some of the present *Bishops* have expressed, of the *Doctrine* of *Non-Resistance*, yet none have censured it as *heretical*, nor concern *Communion* in the owning of it, so as to exclude such as differ from them. Suppose there should be a *Majority* of the *Bishops* now, yet we had the *Majority* from the *Time* of our *Reformation*, and hence what was *true*, and the *Doctrine* of our *Church* must remain so still, notwithstanding the *Number* of *Revolters*. [This shewn, in respect to the *Arians*, and the *Donatists*.] Those *Bishops* *changing* their *Minds* in a

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thing that *cannot* change as they do, is an invincible Argument, that they have been mistaken in one of their *contradictious Doctrines*. If they vary in any Point of Faith from our *old Church of England*, they ought no longer to pretend to be *one* Communion with that Church, wherein we were all united *formerly*: And, consequently, suppose they could over-vote their more constant Brethren, being but a *Part* of our Church, they cannot pretend to carry their Cause by a *Majority* of Suffrages, which we *could* have *opposed* to them, while they and their Brethren were all *unanimous*. Neither yet have they declared their Opinions to be their *Sense*, as a *Communion*. Till they do so, *Separation* from them cannot be justified.

NEXT is shewn, how the Imposing of new offensive *Forms* of Prayer, does not prove any Design of imposing any *new* Point of *Faith*, or any *new* Term of *Communion*. Had the *ancient Church* intended a Doctrine should be taken as an Article of *Faith*, or *Term* of *Communion*, she would not have contented herself with imposing *Prayers*, which should have supposed the *Doctrine of Resistance* true; or, however, have added *Expressions* in the *Prayers* themselves declaring for the Doctrine, nor contented themselves with *consequential* implied *Belief*. They would have declared for it in *plain Words*, and as a *Matter of Faith*. Had this been even *now* intended, this would not have been entrusted to a few *private* Bishops, who are entrusted to draw up *Occasional Forms*; no, this would have been entrusted to an *Assembly* of more *Authority*; not of these

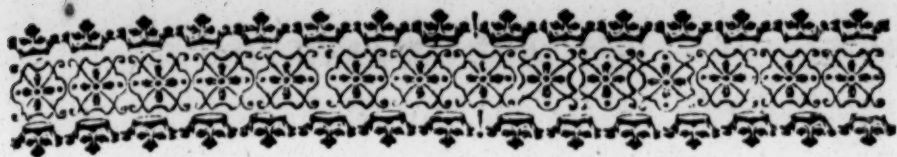
these few, who had no Authority to conclude the *Sense* of even the *Majority* of their *absent* Brethren, nor the *internal Assent* of the generality of the *Laity*. There's no ground for that Assertion, that Persons may separate from the Communion of any Church, that has any Expressions in her *publick* Prayers to which he cannot *heartily* answer *Amen*. For then, if there were *Wars* between several Princes, both *Orthodox*, and Prayers for *Success* of their Arms, put up in their *Liturgies*, to which the Subjects of the other Prince could not say *Amen*, yet they ought not to withdraw from *Communion* with them, when lawful *Occasions* call them to be present at their Assemblies. Must they then accuse each other as Hereticks, or divide from each other's Communion? or, not take the *Viaticum*, when in danger of Death, from a Priest of an *hostile* Nation? But hence it follows not, that tho' we may use our Liberty in Matters of a *temporary* Nature, we may use the like in *dissenting* from Prayers, wherein Matters of *Faith* are indeed concerned, which, being *once* true, must be so *for ever*. In *offensive* Prayers, we secure ourselves from *Sin*, by not giving our *Assent* to them. But if any violate their Duty, by answering *Amen* to them, tho' they are chargeable with *Sin*, yet not with *Heresy*; unless they come to avow it by *Principles*, as the making it lawful for Subjects to resist the *Supreme* Governor, and determining the Seasons when this may be done. *Heretical Practices* cannot justify *Separation* any more than other *vicious* Practices. *Heresy*, indeed, deserves *Excommunication*; but this is not to be inflicted by *Ecclesiasti-*

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cal Subjects. The Case under the *deprived Bishops* is here considered, who had a better Title to their Dioceses than they who *possessed* them; and hence, our joining with them left not us in a State of *Segregation*, but the enjoying of *another* Episcopal Communion, that had a better Title: This not the Case now, when the Possessors are, in every Diocese, *rightful*.

LASTLY, The *Greek Synod*, commonly called *A. B.* which allowed a *Separation* from a Bishop not yet *synodically condemned*, even to *Ecclesiastical Subjects*, when the Bishop professed his *Heresy* notoriously, is shewn not to allow it in a Case of *such Heresies* as had not been before *condemned*, and that *synodically*, tho' the *Synod* had made no particular Application to the *Person* of the *Bishop*, who did not *broach*, but *revive* the *Heresy*. This shewn, not to be applicable to the *present Case*. These *Doctrines* were never condemned by a *Synod* as *heretical*. Lastly, The *little Authority* of these *Canons* are shewn, as being never received in the *Western Church*, much less in *ours*, and hence of no Authority, but what may be gathered from the *Canons* themselves.





AN APPENDIX to
The Case in View, now in Fact.

 R. Dodwell having in the former Tract allowed, that the late *invalidly deprived Bishops* might have substituted *Successors* in the *Sees* that had been *vacated* by an *invalid Deprivation* of the *rightful Possessor*; and that this would have justified a *Separation* after the *Death* of the *Survivor* of those same *Fathers*: He here *retracts* this his *Opinion*, and gives his *Reasons* for it. He shews, that such a *Substitute* could not be invested with the *same Right* which had been formerly in his *Predecessor*, (which alone could give him a *Right* superiour to his *Rival*, and hence make that *Rival* a *Schismatick*) in that he falls short of the *Title* of his *Predecessors* in many *Particulars* here named; the *Predecessor* being consecrated into an *empty See*, &c. Even the *Possession* of the present *Incumbents* gives them a *better Title* than any that can be derived from our *deprived Fathers*, since the *Death* of the *last Survivor* of those same *Fathers*. And that from the *Reasonings* which made against the same *Possessors* formerly. These were *Schismaticks* by *Contagion*, whilst they communicated with *Colleagues* who were not so *rightfully possessed* as he was, by the *Decease* of their *better entitled Rivals*. But when all the *invalid*
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Deprivations are ended, by the Death of the last *Survivor* of these injuriously *deprived Bishops*, the *Separation* ought not to continue, which was grounded on the *Injury* committed against them who had been *wronged* by that *invalid Deprivation*. All *Possessors* are just *Possessors* since that Time, by the same *Rules*, which made the *deprived Bishops* such at the Commencement of the late *Schism*. It was reasonable for God to *confine* the *coelestial Ratification* to the Communion of our late *invalidly deprived* Fathers, so long as the *Injury* lasted, in order to *oblige* those who were guilty of the *Injury*, to make *amends* for it: But this Reason *ceases*, when the *Injury* *ceased* by the *Death* of the last *Survivor*, and the *Injury* is thereby made *irreparable*. The last *Survivor* could not, by any Act, empower others to fill up his own Place immediately after his Death, in that the *Possessor's* Title must be *antecedent* to the Title of such a one, and hence, on Account of *Priority*, *preferable*. Nay, farther, supposing such a *Power* could by a Commission have been *derived* from the Deceased, 'tis not fit that such a *Power* should be used to *perpetuate* a *Schism*: It being against the Interest of all Societies, that *Divisions* grounded in *Personal Injuries* should survive the *Persons* concerned in those *Injuries*. Our late *deprived Bishops* were *injured*, because they were *kept out* of their Rights; But this *Injury* *ceased* on their Deaths, in a Case where the *Succession* is *Elective*, and not *Hereditary*; and hence, the *Schism* that was founded on that *Injury*, must *cease* also. Suppose they should have taken on them to dispose of them after their *own Deaths*, it would have been

been to dispose of them after they *ceased* to be their *own*. Hence, a *Continuance* of the *Separation* cannot be taken for the *Continuation* of the same *Schism*. The only *Schism* now must be against the present *canonically* possessing *Proprietors*. Our late Fathers could gain no *new* Rights by their *Deprivation* that was *invalid*, no more than they could lose their *old* Rights: Yet, without acquiring *new* Rights, they could not justify their *Substitution* of *Successors* after their own *Death*. The acknowledged *Right* they had to act in all *other Dioceses* as well as their *own*, may look like an *Accession* of *Power*. But this was no more than what they received at their *Consecration*, by which they were so far made *Bishops* of the *Catholick Church*, as to have a *Right* of actual *Exercise* in all *Vacancies*, when there were no *Bishops* invested with a *better* *Right* for filling those *Vacancies*: (Which happened, when the *schismatical Bishops* made their *Districts Vacancies*, by their *Schism*.) As in the supposed State of *Nature*, where all was in *common*, each Man might seize a Part, and every *Individual* had a *Title* to his *Quota* of the *Product* of the *Whole*; where *Occupation* gave a *Right* to the Share occupied, by the *Occupier*, so it was confined within reasonable *Bounds*. Tho' all *Bishops* are *equal* by their *Consecration*, and they have an *OEcumenical Right* to exercise their *Power* in all *Vacancies*; yet withall, they have an *appropriate* *Right* to their own *Diocesan* *Districts*, to which an *unrivalled Possession* gives them a *Title*, which no other *Bishop* has a *Right* to *invade*. Neither could the *Colleague Bishops*, concerned in the *Con-*
secra-

secrations, intend to give a Power to Bishops consecrated by 'em, to act in *Districts* which were not their own. Our deprived Fathers, even the last Survivor, might exercise their Power, even in any *District*, they being all *Vacancies*, at least by *Contagion*; but the last *Survivor* could not give a *Successor* a Right equal to his own. For whilst he lived, the Right was in himself, and thence could not be in such a *Successor*, his own Right keeping him out of *Possession*. Suppose he had resigned to give the other a Title, that *Resignation* would have vacated the *See*, and put an End to the last of the *Personal Injuries*, and consequently to the *Schism* founded thereon; and then the *Possessor* would have the *Advantage* in respect to *Seniority of Possession*, as the first *Occupant*, as it had given the *invalidly deprived Bishop* formerly a Right, in Opposition to his *injurious Possessor*; and would have made the *Occupant's* Title rightful, from the Moment wherein the *Resignation* had been perfected: That is, supposing the *Occupant* Bishops to have full *Episcopal* Power given them, by them who have an undoubted *Right* to give it them.

'Tis true, if *Episcopacy* had been extirpated, or the *Possessing* Bishops had had no truly *Episcopal* Power given them, by Persons sufficiently *authorized* to give it them, our deprived Fathers would have had the full Power of the National Church, not only for their own *Lives*, but with a Right also of *perpetuating* the Power which themselves had received; in that both of these Cases suppose *Vacancies*; and had they done it
in

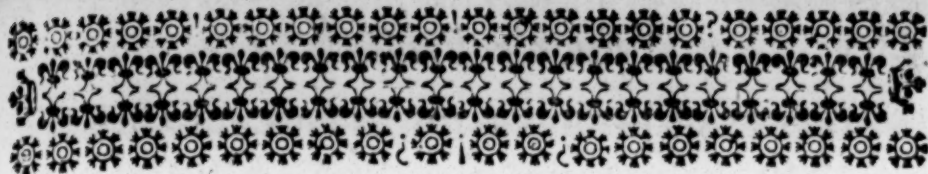
in such Cases, they had very much obliged our National Church.

THE Ground of all is this; All *Bishops*, by their Consecration, are *equal*; and none can from thence pretend to any *Superiority*, no, not over the meanest *Suffragan*. Such a one wants nothing requisite for *appropriating* a District but its *Vacancy*, and then the Possession he had before makes his Possession *unexceptionable*. Then nothing can justify an *Encroachment* on his Right, but the Accession of some *new* Power, which may *legitimate* such an Invasion, and that must be some Pretence to *Superiority*. There may be a *Claim* to that, by the Acts of particular Bishops to incorporate themselves into *Provincial*, *National*, or the like *Bodies*, for their Convenience of Assembling, or Correspondence. [Which obliges, so long as there is an Enjoyment of *Benefits* for which this *Cession* of Rights was made.] But this supposes Bishops still possessed of the *original* Rights not granted away by that Cession, and hence of a Title to their *Districts*, the *Invasion* of which, by any other Bishop, would be *injurious* and *schismatical*, without a *new* Accession of *Power* beyond what is given to each *Bishop* at his *Consecration*: No, not by *Metropolitans*. Our *deprived Metropolitan* died long ago, and then his Right ceased; and none of our deprived Fathers could pretend to *succeed* him in his *See*, nor in his *Metropolitan* Right, nor could the last *Survivor* claim any other new Accession of Power: None from his *Deprivation*. Since his Death, his *Rival*, who was the principal *Schismatick*, ceases to be a *Schismatick*; and hereby there

there can be no *Schism* by communicating with him, nor by *Contagion*. From that time, all the Districts are canonically possessed by the present Possessors. Could our *deprived* Fathers be *revived*, and act *synodically*, they could not act over *again* what they did *before*, because this would be to *invade* Districts now canonically possessed. If they could not do it in their *own Persons*, they could not *authorize* others by any *Commission* to do it.

MR. *Dodwell*, betwixt the Time that he published his *Case in View*, and the *Case in View*, now in *Fact*, wrote another Discourse, which he calls *A farther Prospect of the Case in View*, in Answer to *some new Objections*, made by a worthy Person, not there considered. But I chose to put the two former together, as being of the same Subject, and this latter by itself, as treating of *new Objections*, not considered, or, however, but briefly touched, in those two former Discourses; especially, the Unlawfulness of joining in *Immoral Petitions*, to which we cannot heartily assent.





C H A P. XXXVIII.

A farther Prospect of the Case in View.



THE first Objection considered, is this, That tho' there remain no *Schism* in *England* after the Vacancy of the *Sees*, yet there will still remain a *Schism* from other *Bishops* in Communion with our Holy *Fathers*, particularly the *Bishops* of *Scotland*. The Sum of his Answer is this: Seeing there is no *Altar* against *Altar* in *England*, and all are under visible *Heads* and *Principles* of *Unity*, who represent *GOD* and *CHRIST*, from the *Communion* with whom the *Communicants* may expect the *Benefits* of the *mystical* *Communion* in *Heaven*; no other *Church*, that believes the *Church* of *England* thus qualified, can justly refuse her *Communion* to our *Church's* *Communicants*. He refers for this to the *Case in View*.

THE second Objection is, that the *Authors* of the late *Schism* ought to make *Satisfaction*, as a Condition for *renewing* our *Communion* with them. Here our *own* *Duty* is considered; that *private* *Persons* cannot give *Laws* of *Communion*; that none but *Bishops* can pretend to do it; and hence, that we ourselves cannot do it, when we have

no *Bishops* of our own to head us, as *Catholicks* had in the Case of the *Novatians*, *Donatists*, and *S. Chrysostome*. Besides, making publick *Satisfaction* for what has been done under the *Schism*, is not *essential* to a *Reconciliation*, nor was ever insisted on as such. Not with the *Donatists* in *Collat. Carthag.* Not in the Case of *S. Chrysostome*, but only the *Restoring* his Name to the *Dip-tychs*, the *Expunging* of which was a kind of *Ex-communication*. Farther, *Bishops* were so far from being subjected to *Penance*, that *that* (after the *Fourteenth Century*) made them incapable of the *supreme Priesthood*. This *Satisfaction* cannot be expected, when the *Orthodox Bishops* are the *fewer*; and much less, when the *Bishops* of the *National Church* shall be *united* against us.

THE third, and main Objection here considered, is, that we cannot join in those *Prayers*, to which we cannot heartily *assent*. But all such *Prayers* in *Church Offices*, do not oblige us to *separate* from the *Communion* of the *Church*. The *Offices* in *Gates's Plot*, supposed the *Truth* of what he and others had deposed; yet such, as appeared afterwards, could not be relied on: Yet that was not lookt on as a ground to *separate* from the *Church's Communion*; nor would be so for any to do it, when they *know* some *Facts unknown* to the *Compilers* of the *Prayers*. Neither *Fear* of being guilty of *Lying*, nor of *Scandal* given by our *Presence* at the *Petition*, in *K. James II.'s Time*, that *God* would *keep and strengthen* him in the *true Worshipping* of *God*, was judged a *Ground* to *separate* then from the *Prayers*; because, neither the *Church* could be blamed for them,

them, because compiled when the Church believed the Prince's Worship *true*; nor the Communicants, in that they continued in the same Communion on the Terms which were *expected* by their Governors, and *presumed* by their Brethren of the same Communion. In such a Change of a Person, the Prayers indeed ought to be changed that are put up for him, in respect to the *Petitions*, as well as to the *Name*: But yet it will not be justifiable in *private* Communicants, even in Prayers which suppose an Opposition of the *true Faith*, and strengthening a Soul in the *Belief* of that which is *destructive* to his *Salvation*; much less in Prayers for the *Prosperity* of an *unjust Cause*, (in which *civil Interests* are only *directly* concerned) will it be justifiable to withdraw from Communion with such *Assemblies*, when *Orthodox*. For this would tend to *dissolve* the Society, and hereby destroy the *Power* by which such *Grievances* should be redressed; whereas by keeping up that Power, there's ground to hope for the *Reformation* of the Prayers. And 'tis a greater Crime to *hinder* the Reformation of *immoral* Prayers, than to *bear* with them for a *Time*, till they can be *regularly* reformed.

THEY that will, on this Account, *separate*, must either, (1.) keep themselves out of all Communion; which is *uncomfortable*, as depriving them of *Sacraments*, and the *ordinary Means* of *Salvation*; and *sinful*, when done by themselves, and the more, when they may have these, if they please; and hence, can have no Plea of *Equity*: This being a greater Sin, than the *Scandal* taken against their *Veracity* from their *Presence* at the Prayers; their

their publick Duty to their Communion being of greater Importance, and more obliging, than what is incumbent on them in their personal Capacity, and hence (as in the Case where *Two Duties* are inconsistent) is to be first considered, and to take place. Must they then (2.) betake themselves to another Communion? We cannot communicate with any foreign Church immediately, while we keep at Home, unless by joining with some opposite Communion, within our own Jurisdictions, which owns that foreign Communion. To do thus, will not be consistent with our old Principles, on which we first communicated with our own Churches in these Dominions, by which we owned ourselves divided from all opposite Communions within the same Jurisdictions. But to be present in the Communion where such Prayers (as that in the *Litany* in K. James II.'s Reign) renders us neither guilty of Sin, nor Scandal: Of no Sin of the Communion, because 'tis against the Principles of the Communion; not in the Communicant, because he cannot be supposed to believe that Faith true, which is not consistent with the Principles of his Communion. Not guilty of Scandal to his Brethren, in that they know his true Meaning, in continuing in their Communion, when they found it no other, than what both he and themselves were obliged to mean, and that by Principles. If Papists took Scandal hereat, 'twas not given by us, but taken by themselves; in that themselves could not but believe, that we would have refused to join herein, if we could have refused it without Violation of the Communion professed by us; much less could they

they imagine, that our Presence thereat was with a *Design* of *Offering* such a Prayer ourselves, or *consent* that it should be by others offered in our *Names*: Because this would have been inconsistent with our *Interests*, it being contrary to the *Interests* of the Church of *England*, of which we were *Members*, as well as with our *Principles*. We could not fairly *forsake* the Communion of this Church, because we *disapproved* that Prayer; neither could Continuance in its Communion be an *Argument* of our *Insincerity*. Such *Prayers* indeed ought to be *changed*; but that could not be done by *Communicants*, but by *Governors*, to whom this belongs; and hence these alone are faulty, when 'tis not done. Nor are *they* always blame-worthy. When the Office was composed, 'twas fitted to the Case, when the *Prince* was of the *true Communion*: When the Case was altered, by our having a Prince of *another* Communion, it was the Duty of the *Successors* in the Government, to make an Alteration in the *Prayers*, had it then lain in their *Power*. Had each acted *separately* in their *Jurisdictions*, this would have given *Advantage* to the *Enemies* of our Church, and much more, if they had *united* in a Body, as acting against the *Laws* of K. Henry VIII. The mildest *Punishment* would have been *Imprisonment*, by which we should have been *deprived* of the Use of their *Episcopal* Authority for the Remainder of that Reign. Had they ventured all in making the Change, what *Security* could be given for the Obedience of *Clergy* and *People*, to the Use of the Office so amended, under the *Latitudinarian* Leaven of this unhappy Age? Be-

sides, *Schisms* would probably have ensued. The Evils were more happily prevented by our *bearing* with it, and never offering to *separate* for it. In such a Case, when a *regular* Way of *Amendment*, by *Governors*, is not practicable; *Scandal* may be prevented, by the *officiating* Minister's not offering up such *Petitions*, (especially, if *unanimous*) for which *Forbearance*, they may justly *presume* on the Bishop's *Consent*, on several Reasons here specified; neither will this *Presumption* lessen his Authority, or hinder the *Deference* due to him. If the *officiating* *Clergy* cannot be prevailed with to forbear the *Offering* up such *Prayers*, the *Laity* should testify their *not Assenting* to them, by forbearing their answering *Amen*; and their *Omission* would be *justified* by the known *Principles* of the *Communion*, without any *Reflection* on the *Governors* of it, and from those Principles they might *presume* on the *Leave* of their Governor; especially, when he expresses no *publick* Dislike thereof; and there are *Multitudes* that take the same *Liberty*. From this, at least, it would appear, that an *Assent* to such *Prayers* is not insisted on as a *Condition* of *Communion*, and consequently sufficient to shew, that the Communicants are not *obliged*, on Account of those *Prayers*, to leave the *Communion* that uses them, and enough to clear such from Suspicion of *Insincerity*, or *Scandal*.

THERE may often happen *different* Sentiments, and yet on both sides *sincere*, the *Subjects* from their *Governors*; especially, in *secular* Titles, sometimes really *litigious*. Yet then *Prayers* for *Governors* will be esteemed necessary; and yet

yet no Form can be prescribed wherein *both Parties* can agree, so that there must be a *Compliance* on one side, and the Favourers of the Possessors of the *secular* Government will look on it as their *Prerogative*, to carry their Cause in this Particular. Now, if in this Case *Separation* of scrupulous Persons be justifiable, no *numerous* Body, no one Church, can long preserve its *Unity*, nor can any *fallible* Government long secure *Obedience*; neither would GOD have made a *Body*, and Submission to the *Government* of it, *ordinarily* necessary to that *Salvation*, which he designs shall be *actually* attained by, at least, the generality of *well-meaning* Persons.

NEXT is shewn, how no *Forms* are secure from particular *Petitions*, with which some particular Communicants may not be able to join *veraciously*, considering their own particular *Circumstances*, and particular *Sentiments*: That *extemporary* Prayers help not in this Case, on several Reasons; [and that Men, authorized by God, may expect a larger Gift of the *Spirit* of Prayer, and may have a better *Foresight*, on sedate Thoughts, what others can join in:] That even *David's* Psalms (which were the *ancientest* Liturgical Forms we know of) cannot prevent this Inconvenience; some of which were uttered as a *King*, some as an *old Man*, and cannot suit the Condition of *Subjects*, of *young Men*, &c. His *Eucharistical* Psalms, not fitted for *Mourners*, nor *Penitential* to *Rejoicers*; especially, as they return in Course. Must Persons, therefore, on this Reason *separate* from the Communion of the Church? 'Tis a Mistake, to think that *publick* Offices re-

present the *Sense* of every particular Member of the Body : They are principally designed for the Use of the *Publick*, to consist of Petitions wherein the *Publick* is concerned, of which *Governors* are the proper *Judges*, by whom *private* Persons are to be concluded. Tho' here is shewn, how anciently *private* Prayers were allowed in the *Places* of *publick religious* Assemblies, and in the *Time* of Assembling, at certain Intervals; but to these, none were obliged to signify their *Consent*, besides those who offered them. [Yet these had Encouragement to hope, that such Prayers would be more *successful*, than what were offered in their *Closets*, and this chiefly from the *Holiness* of the *Places*, and the Request made at the *Consecration* of them, that *GOD* would take particular *Notice* of Prayers made therein.] Nor was Assent required in the *bidden* Prayers, wherein Persons prayed for Things of publick Concernment, [the Bidding of which, was the Office of the *Deacon*] at certain Intervals.

THE Forms of Prayers, wherein whole Assemblies are to join, are to be *prescribed* by the *Governors* of such Assemblies, and as the most competent *Judges* of what is for the Good of *spiritual Societies*, even in respect to *provisional* Prayers, fitted for present Circumstances; and this is their *Right* as *Governors*, not only as in other *Societies*, but in this, as they immediately derive their Right from *God* Himself. The *People* can challenge no Right hereunto, tho' it may be pretended, in that the *Prayers*, in the *Name* of the *People*, may be taken for their *original Right*, whose *Desires* are to be expressed in the Prayers;
Yet

Yet when a *Society* is constituted, *Communities* are taken for *Minors*, and hence to be concluded by the Acts of their *Guardians*: Especially in this *Society*, wherein *G o d*, having appointed the *Clergy* as *publick Intercessors*, in Affairs relating to the *publick Good* of the *spiritual Society*, has thereby empowered them to be the *Judges* of *Prayers* for the *Publick*, which may hope for Acceptance from Him; and deprived *private Persons* of the *Right* they might otherwise have pretended to, at least in respect to prescribing the *Forms*. Hence no *private Person* can justify the *invading* this *Right* of the *Clergy*: And yet this is done by him who ventures to *separate* from the *Communion* for *Prayers* unwarrantable, when the *Communion* is neither *heretical* nor *schismatical*. This is illustrated by a parallel Instance, *viz.* That when a *Member of Parliament* (as it happen'd in *K. Charles II.'s Time*) had *opposed* an *Address*, and was *over-voted*, being ordered by the *House* to *deliver* it, he obeyed; in that, he knew, they had *Authority* to oblige him to do it, tho' the *Address* was contrary to his own declared *Sentiments*. But this obliged him not to *change* his *Opinion*: Neither was it interpreted to do so by others. No, it was taken for the *Sense* of the *Body* that employ'd him, who had *Authority* to command him to present it, as he was a *Member* of that *Body*. *Mens Presence*, at the blamed *Prayers*, does no more imply their *Approbation* of them, than that *Presentation* of the *Address* did his *Approving* thereof; especially, when they may be *present* without *Signification* of their *Assent*, and cannot avoid their being *present*

without violating their Duty to the whole Communion.

OUR *Presence* at the publick Offices, does not oblige us to be of the same *Opinion* with our Governors in every *Petition* prescribed by them; and if we signify our *Dissent*, by our not answering *Amen*, this will reconcile our *Conscience* and *Communion*, our own *Veracity*, and the *Deference* we owe to our spiritual Governors, whom we thereby own as authorized *Judges* of the Body, and what is to be requested for the publick Good of the Body, tho' they may differ from the private *Opinions* of particular Members. Our *Presence* at the immoral Petitions, does not oblige us to answer *Amen* to them: It cannot be proved, that *Ecclesiastical* Governors intended to oblige us thereto; and without this be proved, the *Pretence* of separating from the Communion is taken away, because this will leave us at Liberty to make the *Answer*, tho' not to take the Liberty of *absenting* ourselves from the *Communion*, which is absolutely our *Duty*. Our Governors have never *declared*, and (from the Nature of the thing itself) we may presume they never *will* declare, that they *intend* to oblige us to answer *Amen* to the controverted Petitions.

To the Objection; If *Presence* does not imply *Consent*, why may we not be present at the Romish Mass, or any other Corrupt Worship? 'Tis answer'd, That *Presence* at the Prayers of any Communion, is interpreted to imply an *Approbation* at least of the *Communion*; and that the Communicant owns himself as one of the *Body*, in whose Name the Prayers are used: And this will hinder us from
being

being present at the Prayers of opposite Commu-
nions, tho' we could consent to what is prayed
for. We ought not to join with *Schismatics*,
nor with *Hereticks*. Farther, Prayers with any
Body, when 'tis Matter of *Design* and *Choice*,
may be interpreted as an *Approbation* of the *Terms*
of *Communion* with that Body : But there is not
the same Reason for Prayers, wherein nothing is
concerned, that is (even by the Governors them-
selves) imposed as a *Condition* of *Communion* ;
nor can be without an *Apostasy* from the ancient
Doctrines of our Church, and Principles former-
ly received by themselves, (the contrary to which
we cannot suppose they make *Terms* of *Communion*)
especially, when even Interest will prevail
with them to retain their *old* Principles, which
may recommend them to the Favour of a *settled*,
uncontroverted Government. However, when the
Practice and Principles are contradictory, and *both*
cannot be observed, the Advantage lies on the
side of the Principles, in which we are *agreed*,
at least are such as they have not *recanted*, and
cannot be *repeated*, but by the *Consent* of the *Bishops*
for the Time being, as *unanimous* as that *was*
by which our old Principles were at first esta-
blished. The Practice of Governors, at present,
cannot repeal them, no more than the *Faults*
of Governors can repeal the *Laws* that forbid
their immoral Practices : Nor can they oblige us
to an *Assent* to those Prayers, as Terms of our
Communion with them, till they have first made
them consistent with the Principles of our Com-
munion. Our *Dissent* to the *impure* Prayers, is
shewn (from what is said before) sufficient to
secure

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secure us from the Impurity of the Worship, considering that the Communion itself is not chargeable with those Prayers, because they are contrary to the Principles of the Communion, as a distinct Communion.



C H A P. XXXIX.

Notes on an Inscription on Julius Vitalis, and that on Memonius Calistus, and on Dr. Woodward's Shield.



IN the Year 1709, the learned Dr. William Musgrave, Physician in Exeter, (at first by the Intercession of the Reverend Dr. Charlett, Master of University-College in Oxford) desired Mr. Dodwell to write a Dissertation upon an *Inscription* found at Bath, which my Friend Mr. Hearne had published at the End of K. Alfred's Life, with some Annotations on it.

IT is *Julius Vitalis's* Epitaph, who was *Fabricensis* of the Twentieth Legion, called *Valeria Victrix*. Here Mr. Dodwell shews, how the *Fabricenses*, such as those in this Inscription, differed from those in the *Notitia*, and in the *Codes*; these

these last belonging to the *Militia Palatina*, ours to the *Castrensis*, answerably to other Offices there mentioned, after *Dioclesian* had divided the *Roman* Empire into Four Provinces. This Inscription was before that Time, and before that of *Maximus* the Murderer of *Gratian*, after whom there was no fixed Station of Legions in *Britain*: The Laws (here enumerated) that concerned the *Fabricenses*, even after *Constantine*, were directed, not to the *Magister Officiorum*, but to the *Comes*, or to the *Præfectus Prætorij*, to the Year 474. And 'tis here shewn, that those in *Britain* were under the *Præfectus Prætor. Galliarum*. Here the Change made in Military Offices is considered, when the Care of the *Fabricæ* was taken from the *Præfecti Legionum*, and committed to the *Imperator* of the whole Army. Hence they were under an *Augustus* here, when there were any such in *Britain*, as *Allectus* and *Carausius* were. The great Power of the *Præfectus Prætorij*, both that of the City, and of the Provinces, is here shewn.

THE Title of *Valeria* was refused by the Twentieth Legion, when *Dio* wrote, and is only styled *Victrix* by *Ptolemy*. This Inscription, therefore, was somewhat after their Time.

THE College of the *Fabricenses*, and their Edifices, are shewn to be in the City of *Bath*. [Tho' the Station of the Twentieth Legion was at *Chester*: Here of *Britannia Superior* and *Inferior*.] Probably at *Bath*, by reason of the Plenty of *Metals*, particularly of *Iron*, there; as also of *Wood*, which those, who were Makers of Weapons, and Military Engines, had need of. *Dio*
places

places the Twentieth and Second Legion in *Britannia Superior*, i. e. the Southern-part of *Britain*: And is the first that names the Second *Legio Augusta* in *Britain*, then in the North, not in *Monmouthshire* till afterwards, *Ann. Domini* 211. Hence, when only the Twentieth is mention'd as having its *Fabrica* at *Bath*, 'tis probable that this Inscription was before that Time; and that *Septimius Severus* made that Change of Stations. Tho' *Reinesius* mentions divers Colleges of *Fabri*, yet, 'tis probable, they were all conjoined in this one at *Bath*. *Julius Vitalis* is said to be *Natione Belga*. *Belga*, not of *Belgæ* in *Gallia*, but of *Britain*. *Natio* is here used in a narrower Sense than *Gens*, which comprized many *Nationes* under it; and was the same with *Civitas*, which denoted not the Place of their Habitation, but the Race and People from which they descended. All Expressions in the Inscription are to the Honour of *Julius Vitalis*; a Soldier and *Legionary*, and thence (ordinarily) of good Parentage: One that received *Stipendia* whilst young, one è *Collegio elatus*, one brought out, and that had this Monument erected, at the Charge of the College: One attended by their Train, and (possibly) laid in the Sepulchre of the College.

MR. Goetz, Professor at *Leipsick*, wrote a Letter to that worthy and accomplished Gentleman, Mr. Cherry, (by whom he had been for some time entertained, when he was in *England*) wherein he imparted an Inscription, which was found at *Puteoli*. It was on one *Memonius Calistus*. On this Mr. Dodwell gave his Thoughts, Sept. 1700.

Jupiter

Jupiter is therein styled *Damascenus*, as Patron of the Roman Colony at *Damascus*. By *Antonino Aug. Pio*, may be meant either *Caracalla* or *Elagabalus*, both being thus called. *Memonius* was, of a Stranger, made *Decurio* of *Puteoli*, tho' first *Ædilis*. Seeing the *Priests* are here said to erect this *ex Jussu Jovis*, it is no Wonder that *S. Cyprian* refers the Decrees of the Church to *CHRIST*. *Memonius*, that erected this Monument, did it *remissâ collatione*, at his own Charge. Probably he was *Libertus* of that *Memonius*, for whom, by way of Gratitude, he erected this Monument.

MR. Goetz likewise imparted another Inscription found at *Baia*. On which, *Mr. Dodwell* returned some short Observations; answers his Questions concerning the Publishing of *Damascius περὶ ἀρχῶν*, and shews of what Use it would be: Desires him to communicate whatever Inscriptions he found in *Italy* to the learned *Grævius*, who then designed a new Edition of *Gru-ter*: And then wishes, that he might see that Inscription that he mention'd, that recites the Greek Generals slain in divers Battles; especially, if it had any Note of Times, in that it would be of great Use to him in his Chronological Studies.

THE last thing that *Mr. Dodwell* wrote, evinces his Readiness to gratify learned Persons, and to promote excellent Ends; and that was his Compliance with the learned *Dr. John Woodward*, who sent him the Thoughts of *Cuperus*, and other learned Persons, on his *Shield*, a very valuable Monument; and requested his Judgment

ment concerning it, and its Antiquity. It was some time before he could be prevailed with, he not enjoying a good State of Health, to undertake it. But upon the Doctor's Promise to pursue his Design, in a farther Vindication of the *Mosaick Account* of the *Deluge*, together with a larger History of several of God's Works of Creation, unobserved by others, of which he hath given us so happy a *Specimen* in his learned and judicious Essay; Mr. *Dodwell* undertook it, because, by this Means, Dr. *Woodward* would be engaged to prosecute that which tended so much to support the Authority of the *Holy Scriptures*, which, in this profligate Age, some Wretches made it their Business to undermine; and to promote the Glory of our Great Creator, by displaying His Works that lie in the Bowels of the Earth, as has been done by others, in those that are open to our View. When so good a Work would be set forward by his undertaking this, he judged, that what Time and Pains he employed therein, would hereby be sufficiently recompensed.

IN penning this *Dissertation*, he used singular Diligence, in viewing each thing that is represented in this *Parma*: The Garments and Arms of the Soldiers and Generals, both of the *Romans* and the *Gauls*; the *Helmets*, *Shield*, *Saga*, *Swords*, &c. and even the Furniture of their Horses: Which, tho' it was the Story of *Camillus*, when he came to the Relief of the *Romans*, after the *Galli* had possessed themselves of all *Rome*, except the *Capitol*: Yet Mr. *Dodwell* concluded, from the Time that such Acts flourished at *Rome*, that the Artificer not only lived in a later Age, but

but also framed and modelled his Work, according to the Arms and Fashions of the *Romans*, used in his own Time; and accordingly framed his Conceptions of that ancient Affair. Hence he concluded, that it must be after the *Galli Cisalpini* became one People with the *Romans*, and used the same Arms, and Habits, with the *Romans*, as they here pourtrayed; yet not so late as the Times of Christianity, in that Theaters and Temples are here represented; tho' tis true, that for some time after the Emperors became *Christians*, somewhat of *Heathenism* was connived at; nor so late as the Use of Stirrups, not seen in this *Shield*. Not so early as the Time of *Augustus*, when such Arts as Sculpture were imperfect; yet not much later, in that here appear no *Crosses* nor *transversa Vela* mention'd by the *Christian* Apologists, as used by the *Romans*; nor other things about that Time in Use. In *Nero's* Time, *Zenodorus* was celebrated, as the first among the *Romans*, who lively represented *Animals* in Brass and Iron. Yet this and many other Arts continued not much longer in Perfection, particularly their Works in *Iron*, as this *Shield*, so as to become durable without rusting; the Effecting of which was called by the *Greeks*, Στόμματα.

HERE many particular things of this *Shield* are considered, and cheisly to manifest its Antiquity. Its round Figure: And here the gradual Advance in the Make of *Shields* is observed. [Such as this, *Parma* were called *Buccula*, of which the Reason is here given.] They were made of Leather, of Twigs, then of Metals, and adorned with

with Gold and Silver. Their *Helmets*; and here the Difference is shewn betwixt *Cassis* and *Galea*, and the Office of *Barbicarij*. The Horsemen being pictured without *Beards*. This had no respect to the Time when *Barbers* were introduced, but to the Age in which the *Romans* entred into Military Service: *Camillus*, and some others, are pictured with *Beards*: He with an *Hasta* in his hand, as a General: Having a *Saddle*, when this was introduced. The *Crista* in their *Helmets*; the Difference of these is shewn, with respect to the Matter they were made of, their Shape, and the Persons that wore them. The *Sword*, and particularly the *Gladius Hispaniensis*; *Πομφαία δίκομος* (Heb. iv. 12.) explained. The *Conti*, *Trudes*; now distinguished from other Pikes. *Θύπελοι*, *Thongs*, whereby their *Shields* were fastned to their Arms. *Hastæ* missiles, why not here pictured. *Thoraces*, Breast-plates of *Linen*, after covered with Hooks and Rings. *Cataphractæ*. Those made of *Metal*, are mention'd by Poets, when speaking of Ages past, but were not used by the *Romans* in *Nero's* Time. The different Sorts of *Loricæ*, and the Change in these things made by *Corbulo* in *Nero's* Time. *Unbridled Horses*; on what Reason used by *Romans* and *Numidians*. The old Man veiled, with a Beard, pourtrayed at a Distance in the *Shield*, was *Fecialis* of the *Romans*; the two without Veils, behind *Brennus*, were *Patres Patrati*. *Naked Shoulders* most used among *Soldiers*, (*Manicæ*, or sleeved Coats accounted opprobrious) and likewise among *Monks*, their *Colobia*. The Military Garments are next taken Notice of. Especial-

Especially the *Sagum*; the Difference of which is largely shewn in the several Ages of the *Romans*. This cover'd the lower Parts on which the Sword hung, reaching to the Knees. If doubled, it supplied the room of the *Chlamys*, or *Pallium*, and so cover'd the Breast. The Linen *Loricæ*, (cover'd with a *Toga*, or *Pallium*, that they might not be descry'd by the Enemy) reach'd below the Belly, not lower. *Mædôn* cover'd the whole Body. *Balteum*, on which the Sword was fasten'd, hung on the Shoulders, yet used afterwards in the same Sense, (because of the same Use) with *Zona* and *Cingulum*, tho' these were on the Waste. The *Zona* appears not in the *Shield*, because hid under the *Sagum*. *Pugiones*, Daggers, later than Swords, yet used in *Trajan's* Time, which not appearing here, shew that this *Shield* was before that Time. The Military Sport of tossing Drunkards in the *Sagum*, shews how large it was, consisting of Folds, and different from those that were used afterwards.

NEXT, the *Caliga* is considered; that it cover'd from the Mid-leg down to the Toes; that it was used by common Soldiers, among whom *Caius*, when young, was brought up, and was on that Reason called *Caligula*. *Caliga* was worn in the Camp, as *Calceus* in the City, in Time of Peace. This, as also *Gallicæ* in *Gellius*, *Soleæ*, *Crepidæ*, were Military Habits, worn on the Soles of the Feet; the upper Part of the Foot left naked, which appearing on the *Shield*, shews its Antiquity; another Fashion being used in *Hadrian's* Time. *Compagus* cover'd the whole Foot, used by noble Persons; the Top of the Foot being

ing cover'd with Net-work. Such Ties of the Feet were esteem'd a Mark of Softness, and as opposite to Liberty which the *Romans* affected.

NEXT, the *Buildings* represented on the *Shield*, are considered; that there is none of the *Capitol*, except some little on the Top, nor any thing that might have been expected, had a Representation of that been designed; that all are pourtrayed as on Fire, Buildings half ruin'd, the Embers flying about. The Height only of the Edifices give occasion to think of the *Capitol*. But this is to be attributed to the glorious Magnificence, and Height of the Houses and *Insulae* in *Nero's* Time, raised in the Time of *Augustus*, here described: *Tiber*, which Mr. *Dodwell* thought he saw here represented, was at a great Distance from the *Capitol*, hence this not to be expected here.

THIS *Dissertation* Mr. *Dodwell* had near finish'd, when his intermitting Fever stopt his Proceeding therein; which, tho' he would then pursue in the Intervals of his Distemper, yet, at length, was thereby forced wholly to desist.

THE learned Reader will find several things concerning the Beginning and Improvement of Arts among the *Romans*, their Habits, Arms, and other curious Pieces of Antiquity here observed by Mr. *Dodwell* out of ancient Authors, which occur not in other learned Collectors of *Roman* Antiquities; not even in *Lipsius* himself, whose elaborate Treatise *de Militiâ Romanâ* Mr. *Dodwell* often consulted whilst he wrote this *Dissertation*.

THAT which he purposed farther to have considered, were the Buildings pourtrayed on the

the Shield. For which End he was desirous to have seen some ancient Monuments, especially *Titus's Column*. But for this, I referr the Reader to what I have subjoined to the *Dissertation* in mine to Dr. *Woodward*. For to me Mr. *Dodwell* entrusted the Delivery thereof into that worthy Person's Hands: As he did the Disposal of the Paper, next to be considered.

C H A P. XL.

His (intended) Dissertation concerning the Laws of Nature and Nations, and other Writings left imperfect.



MR. *Dodwell* having spent more Time upon the *Shield*, than he thought of, when he first undertook it, was concerned at it, and told me, that if it pleased GOD to prolong his Life, he would employ himself in writing such things as might be immediately serviceable to the Interest of Religion, and the Good of the Church: And particularly wished, that he might finish what he had begun to write, of the *Laws of Nature*, and of *Nations*.

HIS Thoughts of these were, that these were not (as is generally supposed) the Results of Reason,

son, tho' highly congruous thereto ; but Laws delivered by Almighty God, to *Adam*, or *Noah*, the first common Parents of all Mankind, or at least to some in those first Ages, wherein *G O D* most frequently communicated His Will by immediate Revelations : That these were transmitted to Posterity by *Tradition*, which might easily be accomplished when they concerned Mens Practice, and so occurred to Mens Senses in Societies : That these Laws are supposed in the *Holy Scriptures*, and in other the earliest Monuments of Antiquity, such as the ancientest *Poets* : That *all* looked on themselves as obliged to the Observance of them, and that from the Expectation of *Rewards*, if they obeyed, or of *Punishments*, if they transgressed them : These must proceed from the *Arbitrary Pleasure* of the great Governor of the Universe, and that with regard to the Good of the Publick. He shews, how necessary *Societies* were to this End ; and that these were at first formed by God Himself, exacting a due Subordination of Subjects to their Governors : How first a *Husband*, then *Parents*, were Governors of *Societies* ; and that the *supreme* Parent had Authority over all His Descendents, tho' these were superiour over their own Descendents : That the *Right* of Prescribing to Descendents, was fortified by a Right given them by God Himself, to reward their Descendents with *Blessings*, and to punish them by *Curses*, to be performed by God Himself ; for the Performance of which, *G O D* looked on Himself as a *Guarantee* : That tho' *supreme* Governors were exempt from being responsible for their

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Male-Administration to *Men*; yet God took care to terrify these from using their Power arbitrarily, and from *Elation* of Mind, by His *M̃isericordias*, or Threats of Divine Vengeance. He farther takes Notice of some positive Laws which were generally esteemed as *piacular*, the Violation of which made the Community obnoxious to *Divine* Punishment, till the Crime was expiated. No antecedent Reason could have obliged God to punish Communities for the Crimes of private Persons, had not He settled Societies. These Thoughts Mr. *Dodwell* has given us some Strictures of, in some of his Writings, and particularly in his *Discourse against Marriages in different Communions*, and in that *against Occasional Communion*, § 13. But more fully, in his Letter to the Reverend Mr. *John Falconer*, a *North-Briton*, who requested his Assistance in his designed Work against *Deists*, and the like Adversaries of *Christianity*. In answer to which, he began that Discourse of, the *Laws of Nations*; which he broke off, because it hindered him in the Prosecution of his Discourse on Dr. *Woodward's Shield*, in which he had then made some Progress; and at that Time, sent Mr. *Falconer* a shorter Letter.

HAD Mr. *Dodwell* finished that Discourse, it would have confirmed the Scripture-Account of all Mankind descending from one common Parent, against the *Deists*; and withall, have established the Patriarchal Scheme; in that, if Government had been only founded on accidental Confederacies betwixt People and those they chose for their Governor, it is impossible there should have been such an universal Agreement in those *Laws*,
 K k 3 which

which are styled the *Laws of Nations*; of which, by the *Patriarchal Scheme*, we have a rational Account. Seeing, therefore, this *Dissertation* would have been of so great Benefit to the Publick, we have reason to lament that Mr. *Dodwell* lived not to finish it.

HE himself was very sensible hereof; and therefore, a little before his Death, ordered me to send it to a learned and judicious Person, and to desire him to present his Design; but this worthy Person being engaged in another useful Undertaking, excused himself from undertaking this. I then, according to Mr. *Dodwell's* Desire, sent it to another. The first of these was, the Reverend Mr. *William Reeves*, for whose Learning and great Judgment Mr. *Dodwell* had a great Esteem, from his accurate *Translation* of the *Christian Apologists*, his learned and useful *Notes* on them, and his excellent Discourse of the *Use of the Fathers*. The latter was Mr. *Falconer*, for whom it was at first designed, and for whom he had a just Value.

POSSIBLY the Reader may be disappointed, that when he finds other Writings of Mr. *Dodwell's* abridged, his *Epistolary Discourse*, and others in defence thereof, concerning the *Soul*, are wholly passed by. But I having some Years since drawn up, for my own Use, an Account of Mr. *Dodwell's Hypothesis* on that Subject; it being more for my own Ease, and possibly my Reader's Satisfaction; I chose rather to subjoin that, by way of *Appendix*, than to attempt an Abstract of his Books concerning it; as also for farther Reasons, which I leave to the Readers to guess at.

NOT

NOT long before his Death, Mr. *Dodwell* told me, that he had been settling the Time and Order in which *Tertullian* wrote each of his Books, having gather'd Notes of Time from Passages in each of them: Digesting them into the following Order. (1.) Those which he wrote when he was Sound and Orthodox. (2.) Those, when he was inclining and warping towards *Montanism*. (3.) Those, when he was fully perverted, and became a strict *Montanist*. I name this, because this Discourse, as it was designed by Mr. *Dodwell* to this End, might have been serviceable to any that shall think fit to oblige the World with a new Edition of that Father, and fit to accompany it: Who, being the most ancient of the *Latin* Fathers that are extant, is on that Reason, as well as for many of the Subjects he handled, highly valuable. But upon Search for this Work, I found, that tho' he had got ten sufficient Notes of Time, to satisfy himself, and to perfect that Work; yet he had not proceeded far in the Penning of it. He supposes his *Opus ad Nationes*, published by *Gothofredus*, was the first of *Tertullian's* Works; which, from some Passages in it, he finds was written after the Conquest of *Albinus*, in the Year 198. Where he settles the Time of the Victories over *Albinus* and *Niger*. That the next was his *Apology*, possibly begun before the former, but not finished till after it; he, in his *Apology*, referring to it. He considers an Objection, that at that Time there was no Edict of any Emperor for Persecution of the *Christians*, by shewing, that it was done by Presidents of Provinces, to whom *Tertullian* ad-

dressess himself: Referring to his Tenth *Dissertation* on S. Cyprian. The next Work was *de Testimonio Animæ*: Where this Work is left imperfect.

I HAVE heard Mr. *Dodwell* speak of a Tract of his, which he wrote concerning the Death of *Judas*; but on Enquiry could not find it. So far as I can remember it, he understood not Ἀπύγχατο to be *strangled with Grief*, (as *Grotius* and Dr. *Hammond* do) but to be, as we translate it, *hanged* himself; and that the Expressions in *Matth.* xxvii. and *Acts* i. are both to be understood literally; in that, whoever are hanged, and fall down, the natural Consequence thereof is, to have their Bodies swell, and their Bowels burst out.

HE likewise wrote another *Dissertation*, concerning the Time of the *Greek* Translation of the *Old Testament* by the LXX. but left it imperfect; where he shews, from the Testimony of *Eupolemus* in *Clem. Alex.* and others, that it was not in the Time of *Demetrius Phaler.* a Prince, and of *Ptol. Philadelphus*, the Son of *Ptol. Lagida*, but of *Demetrius Phaler.* a *Grammarian*, and of *Ptol. Philopator*, who might be *Philadelphus*, as well as the former, as there were several *Physcones*, *Soteres*, *Philometores*, and *Euergetæ*; and gives many Arguments from the Occurrences at that Time, to render this probable.



C H A P. XLI.

His Prolegomena on the Epistle of Barnabas.



H E R E was one Performance of Mr. *Dodwell's*, viz. the Publication of *S. Barnabas's Epistle*, with his *Prolegomena* to it, which, tho' finished in the Year 1691, (as appears by his *Dedicatory Epistle* thereof to Dr. *Mill*) he deferred the Publishing thereof, by reason of the Wars, and thereby Want of Intercourse with Foreigners; without which, such Works would not be vendible. In order to the settling of the Text, he had, besides his own Observations, the Notes of the learned Dr. *Edward Bernard*, which he for that End put into his Hands. This, not long before his Death, he began to think of; and besides a literal Translation, to have added (as Dr. *Hammond* did on the *New Testament*) a *Paraphrase*. Tho' this was never done, as I can find, yet, I hope, the *Epistle* will, within a little time, by help of his Papers, and Notes, be published, together with his *Prolegomena*; of which I shall present the Reader with an Abstract.

H E shews, that this *Epistle* was ascribed to *S. Barnabas* the Apostle, by *Clemens Alexandrinus*; and that it was so judged by them, who wrote

wrote that Subscription to it of *Catholick*, given only to the Epistles of the Blessed Apostles: And so by *Origen*. For this we find no Doubt in Antiquity, tho' there was for some time, for the Authority of some Books of the Canon of the *New Testament*. That the Testimony of *Clemens* is of great Authority, and to be preferred before that of *Eusebius* himself, and much more of his *Juniors*; considering, that as he was industrious in searching for, so he had Opportunities of seeing such Writings as might be lost before the Time of *Eusebius*: And that the ancient Church determined the Canon by Testimony, this being Matter of Fact, and not by Reasoning; *Clemens* being one of the second Succession from the Apostles, his Testimony is considerable. The Objection that *Cotelerius* makes from *Clemens* himself, is shewn to have no Foundation, in that he names not *Barnabas*. But supposing he had, and that what he said of the *Hyena* was a Mistake, it was not unusual, nor absurd, for Writers to allude to, or argue from Opinions vulgarly received, when addressing their Speech to the Vulgar; and of Reasoning from *Symbols*, tho' fictitious, and drawing from thence mystical Senses. The ancient Church seem to be of the same Mind with *Clemens*, with respect to this Epistle, in that they added thereto the Interpretation of the *Hebrew* Names, as they did to the Books of the Holy Scripture; the Antiquity of which is here shewn. This Epistle was not much known before the Time of *Clemens*, in that *Irenaeus* never cites him, tho' proper for his Subject,

ject. Its being confounded in MSS. with S. Polycarp's *Epistle*, considered.

'Tis probable that *Hereticks*, as they forged Writings under the Names of the Apostles, to patronize their Errors, so they suppressed this Epistle that opposed them: Particularly the *Ebionites*, whom, they not admitting the Authority of the *New Testament*, he confutes out of the *Old*. Some Expressions therein, which seem to favour *Hereticks*, are shewn not to do it. Particularly, that the *Contrarius*, who is said there to have the Power of this World, must be meant of the *Devil*, or of *Antichrist*, and not of a *GOD*, that was the *Author of Evil*: And that by the *Evil Spirit*, who is said to seduce the *Jews*, was not meant, according to the *Hereticks*, the *God of the Old Testament*. There's no ground to suspect that the *Orthodox* forged this Epistle, because, as they abhorred such Frauds, so they had no need of them, having the unquestionable Writings of the Blessed Apostles, and undoubted Traditions to confront them. There are internal Arguments from the Epistle itself, to evidence it to be S. *Barnabas's*; as such, which shew, that it was written presently after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*: His opposing the *Hereticks* of that Time, the *Judaizers*, and *Jews*, that arrogated to themselves the Privilege of being the *Heirs* of the Covenant: When no other *Hereticks* are refuted: Only the *Διδυχοι*, who having entertained an Opinion of the Perpetuity of the Law, which now they saw could not be observed, the Temple being destroyed, were in danger of becoming Apostates. Next, his say-

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ing, that the *Week* being near at End, the *Temple* should be restored. Here being a clear Reference to *Daniel's Weeks*, that Prophecy is explained, and it is shewn, that as it had, in its *first* Sense, a Respect to the Time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, so it had, in its *Secondary*, a Respect to the Destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Romans*; as is shewn from some Expressions of *Daniel*, applied hereto by *CHRIST* Himself, *Matth. xxiv.* [Thus afterwards interpreted by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, probably from the Apocryphal *Esdras.*] That the Numbers in *Daniel*, those of *Seven*, and *Ten*, and the Multiplication of them being *perfect*, and used *mystically*, did not denote a precise determinate Number; and several other things that concern that Prophecy, too large to be here inserted. That *S. Barnabas*, by the sudden *Restoration* of the *Temple*, meant not that of *Stone*, but the Enlargement of *CHRIST's Church*, by the Admission of Multitude of Converts into it. 'Tis here inferred, that this Epistle was written about *Ann. Domini 72.* And withall, when he tells them to whom he wrote, that they had seen Signs and Wonders, such as *CHRIST* had foretold, manifests how near he lived to that Time: As also, in that he cites so few Passages out of the *New Testament*, probably, therefore, before the *Canon* thereof was collected. When he cites Texts out of the *Old Testament*, 'tis to give a mystical Interpretation thereof. This is shewn to have been customary, and that the first *Christians* made use of such *Paraphrases*: From whence the Names of *Jannes* and *Mambres* seem to be fetch'd; and what is said *Jude ix.* And some Passages in *Ju-*
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stin M. and in *Barnabas*. The *Jews* boast of such *Paraphrases*, and *Philo* mentions those of the *Essenes*, who gave the *mystical* Sense of the *Law*. *Christians* received such from the *Pharisees*; of the Inconvenience of which they became sensible, when the *Jews* made use of these in Opposition to *Christians*, and to what former *Jews* had written. *Barnabas* seems to have taken from these *Paraphraſts*, when he allegorizes the *Law*, and gives the *mystical* Sense thereof. He expresses the literal Expressions by the Word *Δόγματα*, and the *mystical* Sense thereof by the Word *Γνώσις*. *S. Barnabas* made use of a *Paraphraſt*, who seems to be a *Christian*. He names all other Books of the *Old Testament*, except those of *Moses*, under the Title of *Prophets*, [how used in the *New Testament*] even when one single Prophet is meant.

THE *Ways of Light and Darkness*, (probably the Terms used by the *Paraphraſt*, digesting Precepts under those Titles.) The reason of the Names shewn out of the Holy Scriptures. These are called *γνώσεις*, because the Design of *S. Barnabas* was to instruct the *Φωτισμένοι* in perfect Knowledge (tho' not attainable to Babes in *CHRIST*) in the Mysteries of *Christianity*; and how what was delivered in the *Old Testament*, things that had no proper Merit in themselves, were to be referred to Morals, that they might express their Zeal for a Holy Life, and not for Rituals. When *S. Barnabas* speaks of things spoken by *Prophets*, of which we find nothing in the *Old Testament*, it may be understood of those Revelations which were granted to *Christian Prophets*, *Πνευματικοῖς*. Such were *βάσις σοφίας καὶ γνώσεως*,
Rom.

Rom. ii. 33. Whilst they gave Interpretations of things delivered in the *Old Testament*; which being spoken in *Christian Assemblies*, and approved by them who had διακρισιν πνευμάτων, were preserved, and known as γνώσεις. Or they might be the Words of the *Paraphrast*, speaking in the Person of one of the old Prophets. Besides, there were other Writings which were usually taken for those of the old Prophets, tho', in truth, they were not such; yet cited as theirs, because the Persons who cited them, knew that the Persons, to whom they wrote, accounted them as such. But this was disused, after *Melito* had settled the Canon of the *Old Testament*. There were several such Writings published under the Name of *Ezra*, and called his ἐξηγήσεις. Such are the two Apocryphal Books of *Esdra*; the first of which was written before *Josephus's* Time, the latter a little before that of *Justin M.* The Author of which was a *Christian*, who uses several Expressions of the *New Testament*. This is evinced by Notes of Time; and that, to shew that the Author of *Barnabas's* Epistle lived before that Author, who wrote ἐξηγήσεις, as *S. Bernard* did γνώσεις, and consequently what he delivers of unclean Beasts, Scape-goat, &c. which are not express'd in Scripture, he delivers as one acquainted with, and initiated into the *Jewish Mysteries*: Which were called γνώσις simply, till that Word was abused by the *Gnosticks*. The Collections were made under the Name of *Esdra*, when such were made by the *Egyptians* under the Name of *Hermes*, and the like by other Nations. These mystical Interpretations were fre-

frequently interpolated into the Text ; which is complained of by *Justin M.* and occasioned the *Hexapla*, &c. of *Origen*, that the true Text might be discerned, and cleared from those Interpolations. This Epistle was written by the Author when aged, and hence agreeable to the Time of *Barnabas* ; and agreeable to him, as addressing himself as a Doctor, and with an Air of Authority ; and as an *Apostle* of the *Gentiles*, who continued to be such (as also did *S. Paul*) after his first Mission : Who, tho' by Original a *Jew*, yet reckons himself, by his being a *Christian*, among the believing *Gentiles*, who were mystical *Israelites* ; nay, among *Idolaters*, which he doth *adaptandam benevolentiam*, that his Epistle might find the readier Entertainment among the *Gentiles*, whose *Apostle* he was, when he makes himself one with them. As *S. Paul* did, *Eph. ii. 2, -- 5.* And *S. Peter*, *1 Pet. iv. 3.* This Author was an *Hellenist*, and *S. Barnabas* was a *Cypriot*. He imitates *S. Paul*, who accompanied *S. Barnabas* in his Expressions, and Idioms of Style. 'Tis no just Objection against this Author, that he *allegorizes*, in that not only *Philo*, and other Coævals did so, but even *S. Paul* himself, with respect to *Sara*, *Hagar*, *Melchizedeck*, &c. Thus reasoning as mystical *Israelites* : Nor that he argues from false Opinions concerning the *Hyæna*, and other Animals, in that his Design was not to write a *Natural History*, but to use Opinions generally entertained as *Symbols*, to persuade to some moral Duty, suiting himself to the Persons to whom he wrote. Such are the *ἀνθρωποπαθείαι* in the Holy Scriptures, the *Parables* of *CHRIST*,
and

and the *Ænigma's* of the Ancients, the Interpretations of *Origen*, and others, and the Visions of the Prophets.

THIS is not to be wonder'd at, when the ancient *Christians* considered the *Old Testament* as symbolical; and when correcting the Vices of Men from the Property of Beasts, particularly those forbidden in the *Old Testament*, they argued from vulgarly received Opinions: Nor his arguing from the Greek Letter T, which, as a Numeral, signified 300, the Number of *Abraham's* Soldiers, that hereby the Cross of CHRIST was prefigured. A Failure of his Reasoning may be yielded, when he delivered his own Sense, and not that of the Holy Ghost. Neither is it strange, that his Reasoning is founded on the *Greek Translation*, in that that Translation was then esteemed of Divine Authority, and that the *New Testament* follows it, even when it differs from the *Hebrew*. Yet notwithstanding all this, and that the Primitive Church acknowledged the Authority of this Epistle, as having nothing in it contrary to the Christian Faith; it was so ordered, by the Providence of GOD, that being later known, it was not admitted into the Canon of Holy Scripture; but the Canon is not, on that Reason, to be looked on as imperfect, in that all things necessary to Salvation are contained in it. However, this Epistle is not to be despised, if we admit it only as of Humane Authority.

MR. *Dodwell* concludes with telling us, how *Rufinus* mentions the latter Part of this Epistle under the Title of *Dua Viæ*, and this as a *διδάχη*.
And

And how this came to be interpolated into the *Constitutions*, together with other *didaxai*. Also the Reason of Librarians confounding Three distinct Titles, viz. of *Hermas*, or *Pastor*, of *Dua Via*, and of *Judicium secundum Petrum*; because the Beginnings of these Works were unknown to 'em: And hence, the Mistakes were occasioned of them who cited them.

C H A P. XLII.

Mr. Dodwell's great Vertues. His Readiness to assist others in worthy Undertakings. His Concern for the Advancement of Learning, to improve his Time. His Charity, Humility, Zeal, Temperance, Ascetic Life. Firmness to the Church of England, Piety.



HAVING thus given an Account of Mr. Dodwell's Writings, which rendred him so conspicuous, I now come to his great Vertues, which made him no less so in the Esteem of good Men that were acquainted with him,

who possibly may be disappointed in their Expectation, when they find them represented here to so little Advantage.

I SHALL begin with that which I touch'd on in the foregoing Chapter, *viz.* his Readiness to assist any learned Men in their worthy Undertakings; and to answer their Desires in writing on any Subject which he judged might be beneficial to the World, or at least gratify learned and inquisitive Persons.

HE was willing to gratify both Friends and Strangers, which the Letters that he answer'd, and the Writings that he publish'd, sufficiently testify. By which Means, a great many of his Works are to be found only as they accompany the Works of others. As his first learned Discourse, in a Tract of his Tutor *Stearne's*; his *Thucydidean, &c. Annals*, his Discourses on the Geographers, as published with them by Dr. *Hudson*; his Apology for *Cicero's* Philosophical Writings, as a Preface to 'em as translated by Mr. *Parker*, and some others beforementioned. He wrote his Book of *Schism*, at the Request of the late excellent Archbishop of *York*; his Dissertations on *S. Cyprian*, and *Irenaeus*, at the Desire of the late learned and pious Bishop *Fell*; his Dissertations on ancient *Monuments*, and *Inscriptions*, to gratify Dr. *Woodward*, and Dr. *Musgrave*. Besides what he did for Mr. *Hearne*, in his Edition of *Livy*: As his settling the Times of the Actions therein related, by the Years *ab urbe Cond.* according to the *Varronian* Account, set upon the top of each Page; and what Mr. *Hearne* mentions in his Notes on Book VI. Mr. *Dod-*
well

well communicated to him, and in his Preface, what Mr. Cherry and he did; (a).

I FIND that the learned Dr. Cave, when he was employed in his Work *de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, with which he has obliged learned Men, consulted Mr. Dodwell about the Chronology of the Books of the *New Testament*. Also concerning *Dorotheus*, *Ezechiel Tragicus*, and the just Time of the *Pseudo-Areopagite*, and the main Periods of the Life of *Irenæus*: Requests him to consult some Books in *Oxon*; owns his Obligations to him, expresses the great Value he had for him, and the great Benefit he had received by his Works.

DR. Cave takes a particular Notice of Mr. Dodwell, as one of the Persons he was obliged to, for the Assistance they afforded him in compiling his *Historia Literaria*, in his *Prolegom.* to Vol. I. p. 7. as one who encouraged him in undertaking it, and as one ready to help him, and, when there was Need, to supply him, from his Judgment, in that great Affair, and from Collections he had made, of what might be useful to him in that Work. Besides, he makes frequent Mention of what Mr. Dodwell's Thoughts were in particular Cases, as of the Genuineness of Books under the Name of such and such Writers, and the Times wherein they lived. To name no more, he furnished him with a *Greek Fragment*, transcribed

(a) Particularly, what he wrote on the Fragment among Archbishop Laud's MSS. in the Bodleian Library, thought to be Livy's: Where he discourses of *Alista*, or *Alifa*, there mentioned, and of *Umbones belluati*.

out of two *Baroccian* MSS. by himself, which plainly detected the Fraud of that Person who obtruded on the World that *Synopsis* that appeared under the Name of *Dorotheus*, forged in the Time when the Dispute for Precedency was managed betwixt the Bishops of *Rome* and *Constantinople*; that as the former pretended *S. Peter* as their first Bishop, so the latter, the Rivals of the former, might derive themselves from his Brother *S. Andrew*, from whom this *Pseudo-Dorotheus* derived a Succession of Bishops at *Byzantium*. This is in *Histor. Liter.* p. 114, 115, &c. The Contrivance of which Forgery, I have heard Mr. *Dodwell* recount, and which he and I have read together with some Pleasure.

IN the Year 1700, that learned Gentleman, Sir *Robert Sibbalds* of *Edinburgh*, having then a Design to publish the *Christian Poet Sedulius*, from a MS. which he judged was 700 Years old, requests of Mr. *Dodwell* to inform him of several things that relate to *Sedulius*: As who *Hildebert* (whose Scholar *Sedulius* was) designed Archbishop of the *Scots*, was; what Age he lived in; what Dignity he attained to; what other Writings he was Author of; who the other Two were that were of that Name. I cannot find the Answer Mr. *Dodwell* made hereunto. But by all this, we may discern the high Thoughts that these Gentlemen had of Mr. *Dodwell's* Skill in Antiquities, yea, even in the middle Ages, with which he would sometimes say, that he was less acquainted: Besides, how sensible they were of his Readiness to yield all Assistance to Persons in all learned and useful Enquiries, and Undertakings.

Many

Many more Instances of this Kind, I doubt not, might be collected ; but I shall content myself with some few, which happened not long before his Death.

'Tis enough to mention, that he wrote his Book of *Incense*, in Answer to a Letter of a learned Person in the *Isle of Man*. What follows, is more private, and less known.

Johannes Fredericus Burg, a learned young Gentleman of *Silesia*, having spent some Time in *Oxford*, and especially in the *Bodleian Library*, having not an Opportunity of visiting Mr. *Dodwell* in his Way to *London*, as he desired, consulted him in a Letter from himself, and by another from Mr. *Hearne*, concerning a Work which he designed ; and that was, to write a *Lexicon* of the *Hellenistical* Language, as being of such singular Use towards the understanding of the *New Testament*. In order to the compiling of this, whilst in *Oxford*, he had consulted many Books, both MSS. and printed, and was desirous of Advice from learned Persons, particularly Mr. *Dodwell*, than whom he judged (from his Writings, and the just Character of his Friends) none more able to direct and assist him, and to give him Rules how to proceed in his Undertaking ; and, particularly, to shew him what Books might be most serviceable to him. To this End he wrote to Mr. *Dodwell*, and he answer'd his Letter, which was speedily sent to him, because his Stay in *London* was to be short ; and thence Mr. *Dodwell* took no Copy of his Letter, that we can find. However, for fear that should not come to Mr. *Burg's* Hands, he wrote

to Mr. *Hearne* ; an Extract of which Mr. *Hearne* gave me Leave to impart to the Reader. “ Mr. “ *Burg* acquainted me with the Design of his “ intended Work, which was very acceptable to “ me. I return’d him a short Reply, as indeed “ I am not fit for long ones. But considering “ only the Respite of a Week, which he had allowed himself in *London*, I am a little fearful whether it did reach him before his Departure. I wish he had, while he was with you, look’d over *Damascius* περὶ ἀρχῶν, a MS. Copy of which you have in *Bodley*, but the Original, if I mistake not, is in the Library of *Corpus Christi* College. I believe I need not tell him, how necessary *Kircher’s Concordance* will be for his Purpose, for the ready Discovery of *Hellenisms*. *Plato’s* Works should be first diligently read, especially those which they call *Theology* : But with the Comments and Tracts of those of that Sect who lived after *CHRIST* ; *Plutarch*, *Plotinus*, *Porphyry*, *Jamblichus*, *Proclus*, especially *Proclus* on *Timæus*, which gives the Account of many *Platonists*, more ancient than himself, but now lost. If he can retrieve any thing of *Nume-nius*, which is said to be still extant in Libraries, the Publication of them will be very much for his Purpose, and will gratify the Publick ; being quoted by the Fathers, as most addicted to the *Mosaick* Philosophy, and therefore most likely to influence the *Hellenistical* Philosophy ; and being one of the most ancient of that Kind which are joined with him, in that Account given of them by *Origen*, in “ Eu-

“ *Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History*. It will not be
 “ amiss for him to consult Mr. *Pfaffius*, what
 “ Assistance his *discover'd Treasure* may afford
 “ to his Purpose.

THIS was one of the last Letters Mr. *Dodwell* wrote, and not without some Uneasiness, (so willing was he to promote any worthy Design;) otherwise he would have been more copious on this Subject, on which I have heard him discourse more than once: How the Expressions of the *New Testament* must be known from the Use thereof in *Hellenistical* Writers, such as the *LXX.* in their Translation of the *Old Testament*, the *Apocryphal* Books, the Writings of *Josephus*, but chiefly of *Philo*, which made him, in his Letter, recommend the Works of the *Platonists*. As for *Rabbinical* and *Talmudick* Authors, as they are fabulous, and so not to be relied on as *Historians*; so Mr. *Dodwell* thought they were too late to be acquainted with the *Customs* of the *Jews* in ancient Times, or their Phrases and Modes of speaking in the Time of our Blessed Saviour, and his Apostles; in that not only the *Gemara*, but even the *Misna*, was not written till about Six hundred Years after that Time; as Monsieur *Pezron* had shewn.

AMONG others that consulted him, was *Gottl. Schelvigius*, (Son of a Professor at *Dantzick*, and invited to be *Greek* Professor there) who, when he was at *Oxford*, Anno 1708, acquaints Mr. *Dodwell* with his Design to publish *Theophil. Antiochenus ad Autolyc.* and how he had, for that Purpose, consulted MSS. which were not observed by him who had published that Tract

at Oxford; some of whose Mistakes he mentions; And then requests of Mr. *Dodwell* to communicate his own Observations, especially such as were Chronological, upon *Theophilus*; and to give his Reasons, why he thought that *Theophilus*, Bishop of *Antioch*, was not the Author. Afterwards he, with his Friend Mr. *Ritter*, visited Mr. *Dodwell*, and renewed his Requests. Upon which, Mr. *Dodwell* wrote a *Dissertation* upon that Subject, which he hoped he might have seen published by him, for whose Use he wrote it, and to whom he imparted it.

MUCH more of this Kind might be added. But there is one thing that I must not omit here, and that is his great Willingness, as well as his great Ability, to resolve Persons who consulted him, in *Cases of Conscience*.

HIS Readiness to answer such who desired his Advice in Cases of Conscience, in a great Measure occasion'd the Book entituled, *The Case in View, now in Fact*; in that he was, by frequent Messages, importuned to answer the Scruples of a worthy Person; especially when he heard of the Doubts of others in the same Cause. But herein he not only consider'd the Ease of particular Persons, but also the Peace of the Church, the Healing of present Differences, and Preventing future Schisms.

I FIND, among Mr. *Dodwell's* Papers, several Answers given to Persons, who, justly valuing his deep Reach, consulted him as a *Casuis*t. But forasmuch as 'tis possible, that the Persons concerned, or their Relations, may be unwilling that these should be published, in that thereby their own,

or

or their Friends Failings, would be exposed; 'tis enough to give a general Notice of it, in that hereby may be known the just Thoughts those Persons had of his singular Ability to resolve their Doubts, and to direct them in their Actings; and of his own Charity and Benevolence in complying with ~~these~~ their Desires.

MR. *Dodwell* had a great Desire to benefit Mankind, which made him so indefatigable in his Studies. 'Tis true, he had a great Love for, and took great Delight in improving himself in true Learning and useful Knowledge of various Kinds, and no question pleased himself with those great Attainments: But I verily believe, that the great End he had in View, was, that he might be instrumental in doing Good to the World.

THIS excited him to that singular Industry, of which we have not many Instances of the like. This sufficiently appears from the Multitude and Variety of the Works which he hath published, the Writing of which manifests indefatigable Industry: Especially if we consider, that we may discern from thence, his Acquaintance with, and having read, such Variety of Authors, both Sacred and Profane, Ancient and Modern: How conversant he was in the *Holy Scriptures*, in their original Languages, and in the ancient Translations, chiefly of the LXX. In the ancient *Councils* and *Fathers*, (in discerning the Genuineness of which, and the Time wherein they wrote, he was so great a Critick) and even in the Monuments of later Ages, as the Right Reverend Bishop of *Sarum* has well observed in his last Letter to him; not to mention later Divines.

He

He was acquainted with the *Codes* both of *Theodosius* and *Justinian*, and also of the *Capitulars*; with the ancient Poets, Historians, Geographers, Philosophers, Orators, Sophists, &c. together with the Writers of this last, and the immediate foregoing Age, on several Subjects. Besides this, his unwearied *Diligence* appears from his Transcribing with his own Hand several ancient MSS, chiefly out of the *Bodleian*, as his Friends did for him out of that at *Vienna*, and other Libraries, which we find among his Papers.

How much Mr. *Dodwell* was concerned for the Advancement of Learning, especially such as might be serviceable to the Interest of Religion, and the Good of the *Church*, is evident from the great Satisfaction he had upon the Receipt of a Letter from *Christoph. Matth. Pfaffius*, a learned German, Author of *Dissertatio Critica de genuinis Librorum N. Testamenti Lectionibus*, who had with Mr. *Wolfius*, who wrote *de Manichæismo*, and other worthy Persons of that Nation, visited him. This Gentleman being at *Turin*, accompanying a Prince of *Germany* in his Travels, gave Mr. *Dodwell* an Account of some valuable Manuscripts he had met with there, in the Duke of *Savoy's* Library; and particularly one of *Lactantius's* Institutions, very different from any published in the several Editions of that Father: And likewise gave him Hopes, that he might find others of great Value and Service to the World. Mr. *Dodwell* entertained this News with great Pleasure, returned his Thanks for communicating this to him, with Congratulations for what he had found of *Lactantius*; and acquaint-
ed

ed him how that Father had set forth his Institutions at several Times, and made Alterations in the later Edition of them, from what they were when he first published them. After which he desired him to pursue his Search, and hoped that thereby we might obtain some Authors never yet printed, and obtain others more complete, which were published from imperfect Manuscripts. But above all, the *Apostolick* Writers, among whom he wished for one of *Barnabas*, because of his own purpose to publish that Epistle; as also for a more perfect Copy of *Justin Martyr's* Dialogue with *Tryphon*. Also of *Velleius*, and (if it might be) of *Menander*, and others.

HIS Writing on Dr. *Woodward's* Shield, was principally, (as has been already told) to engage that sagacious Gentleman to prosecute his Design in discovering the wonderful Works of GOD in the Bowels of the Earth, as others had done those on its Surface. Tho' of all Parts of useful Learning, he had least employed himself in that of Natural History.

How desirous this excellent Person was to improve his Time, is evident from the Care he took not to lose that Part of it wherein he travelled, which was chiefly on Foot, and for this End chosen, rather than by Stage-Coaches, that he might thereby be Master of his own Hours, often reading as he walked. For this End he carried with him in his Journies, Books fitted for his Pockets; the *Hebrew Bible* in four small Volumes, the *Greek New Testament*, and the *Common-Prayer* accordingly. For the same Purpose he had *Thomas à Kempis*, *S. Augustine's Meditations*, and other

ther Books of the like Nature and Size. In the last Twenty Years of his Life, after he was fixed in *Berkshire*, his chief Journies (besides those to *Maidenhead*) were either to *London* or *Oxford*, to consult *Books*, and to enjoy his Friends.

AFTER his Eye-sight began to be so weak, that he could not read by Candle-light, but with great Difficulty, he had some Book read to him, either by that worthy Gentleman Mr. *Cherry*, or by myself, till Supper-time: By which, as I gratified him, so I received much Benefit myself, and might have received more, had I taken Care to write down such useful Things which he then suggested, occasioned by what I had read to him. The latter Part of the Evening, besides what was employed in Religious Exercises, was spent in hearing his Wife, or Daughters, read some *English* Historian, by which they might, as well as himself, be benefited, as well as delighted.

To conclude this. As he daily consecrated some Part of his Time, in joining in the Prayers of the *Church*, and private Devotions, so he employed the Remainder in improving himself, or in benefiting others: For such was that Part of it, which was spent in conversing with his Friends, which was almost his only Recreation. For if we add thereto his Walking Abroad, he had then (as has been observed) a Book in his Hand, tho' to his Detriment, the Weakning of his Eye-sight, of which he was too late convinced. He was willing to gratify single Persons, Strangers as well as others, by his Advice and Direction, and answering the Scruples of them whom he apprehended to be truly Conscientious, (as ap-
pears

pears from what is said before); or the *Publick*, by his useful, as well as learned Labours.

Mr. Dodwell's great Charity.

MR. *Dodwell* was highly exemplary in that great Christian Grace of *Charity*, and this in the several gracious Effects and Products of it: In his Bounty to, and Relief of, Persons in Distress; in his Kindness to Friends, and Readiness to forgive his Enemies; and in his Benevolence to all Men. His Charity in giving to the Poor, and in relieving the Indigent, can hardly be parallel'd in this Age. This he began betimes, when he was a young Student in the College of *Dublin*. For thus a reverend Person, who was his Cotemporary there, informs me. "That he lived in bare Frugality there, and gave the rest of his whole Estate in Charity to the Needy, and in Liberality to his Relations." Farther he adds, "I know (which perhaps is not generally known to his Friends) thus much of his Charity, and extraordinary Conscience, that having in his Estate some improper Lands and Tythes, to the Value of about 23 Pounds *per Annum*, he would never suffer me (who managed for him) to remit him any of that Money, but ordered me to distribute it yearly; to some of his Relations the one half, and t'other half to four Widows, and an Orphan whom he named to me, half yearly in his Accounts." But this was far from being all that he did of this Kind: And I believe we cannot come to be acquainted with several Acts of his Bounty, in that many of them were

were done in secret : And possibly those others, now to be recounted, had never come to my Knowledge, had I not in his last Year's Weakness received his Rents in *London*, (remitted out of *Ireland*) and so became his Almoner there. At each of those Times I gave to a worthy Clergyman (who is reduced to great Streights, by being deprived for refusing the Oath of Abjuration) Five Pounds ; to another that was in Want, Two Pounds ; and to a Gentlewoman, his Relation, who from a plentiful Estate was reduced to Poverty, the like Sum. I must not omit his calling me out of Bed, some Days before his Death, when he lived in Expectation of it, that I might draw a Note for the Disposal of Thirty or more *Guineas* that were in a Purse, which he directed to be given by way of Bounty and Charity ; half of which were to be employed in setting out of those poor Children of the Parish who came to be catechized ; which he esteemed, and justly, one of the best and truest Acts of Charity.

WHEN he printed any Book, he was desirous of Copy-Money, for this End, that he might have a Sum to bestow in Charity : And this was generally on some worthy Clergyman, who was brought to Indigence, through his Care not to make Shipwreck of a good Conscience. Some of these will, upon their own Account, have Cause to lament the Loss of him.

HIS Charity was expressed in giving Advice to young Students, how to employ their Time and Studies, in order to accomplishing themselves, and thence to become useful to the World, and especially to the *Church* ; tho' herein his Charity was
not

not confined to the Persons, to whom this Advice was given, but became universal, when Multitudes became advantaged by it. This Mr. *Dodwell* did, not meerly by the Letters of Advice which he published, but also by private Instructions. This I question not but was done to several, but I find it owned, with a grateful Sense of it, by a Person whose Labours have been beneficial to the Church, viz. the reverend Dr. *William Wotton*, when a young Student in *Cambridge*, with a repeated Acknowledgment thereof, in Letters written afterwards.

His Charity, and true Friendship has expressed itself, in minding his Friends of Things of the highest Moment, and the Concerns of their eternal Happiness. This, and therewith his *παρρησία*, he manifested in a Letter written to a very learned Person, when in a languishing Condition, of whom he was afraid that he was indifferent in Matters of Religion, and too little concerned for Things of the greatest Moment; whom he tells how those of *Siam*, unacquainted with that Name, by which alone Salvation is to be had, would be more excusable than *Christians* who act not up to their Principles.

He expressed his Friendship to one, eminent for his great natural and acquired Accomplishments, and for several useful and ingenious Writings, by cautioning him, in a free and friendly Letter, against Reflections and Contempt of his Adversaries; these being not the Means to convince, but to render Men averse from considering his Reasons, nay even from reading them. And then minds him how *Orators* studied *Captare Benevolentiam*;

volentiam; yea even S. Paul himself in his Epistles, especially that to *Philemon*, and in his Speech to *Festus*. This he did, that the Author might be less obnoxious to Censures, and his Works more beneficial to the World.

I MIGHT take Notice of his *universal Love* to Mankind, expressed by his Joy at the News of any Person's being reclaimed from a vicious Life, or at least their giving Hopes thereof, from their Sorrow for their past Offences, their new Purposes and Resolutions, their coming to the Church, and to the *Lord's Supper*, which they had before neglected; and from other Things of this Kind. This Joy, which is Matter of Joy in the Presence of the Angels of God, this good Man express'd on Earth at the Conversion of a Sinner.

I CANNOT but observe how GOD made good to Mr. *Dodwell* what He promises, *Psal. xli. 1, 3.* to him who *considereth the Poor and Needy*, (in which he was so exemplary) that *God will make all his Bed in Sickness*. For when his Intermitting Fever came every Night, and spent him much by violent Sweats, it pleased GOD to grant him, without the Use of Opiats, a good part of the Night, generally quiet Sleeps; till the last Night, in which he wanted it; at the End of which he *slept in the Lord*, and now enjoys eternal Rest.

How Mr. *Dodwell* exerted his Charity in Forgiving his Enemies, might be evidenced in several Particulars. He could not but resent those foul Charges of his being a *Heretick*, a *Papist*, an Encourager of Immorality, &c. a good Name being a precious Ointment, and his Reputation dear

to him, in that the Loss thereof would render his Labours less serviceable in the World. He was therefore careful to vindicate himself, and to wipe off those Aspersions. Yet we never find him, according to the Custom of the World, (a thing to be lamented among Christians) recriminating, or returning opprobrious Language. When one, contrary to the just Commendations he gives him in some Places of his Book, charges him in others with Falsifications, Denial of two Articles of the Faith, &c. and this a Person who pretended to be a Friend, and was obliged to be such by the Favours he had received from Mr. *Dodwell*: Yet (tho' he privately demanded, but received no Reasons for such Treatment) he never in his Defence retaliated, or returned his unbecoming Language, or upbraided him for his Blunder in taking *Austin* for *Justin*, (occasioned by an Error of the Press) and expatiating upon it; when others would have hence taken Occasion to expose such an Adversary, and to make their Readers merry with less Trips.

OMITTING others, particularly his passing over *Gronovius's* Scurrility, I'll here give one more Instance of Mr. *Dodwell's* candid Christian Demeanor towards his Adversaries; and that was his Carriage towards Mr. *Baxter*, who had (at least indirectly, and so as his Readers would think, truly) accused him for a *Papist*, of which elsewhere. Concerning this he privately expostulated with Mr. *Baxter*, was willing to refer his Cause to any indifferent Person; accepted of Dr. *Tillotson*, who was named by Mr. *Baxter* as a *Referee*. This Arbitration Mr. *Baxter* disap-

pointed by a fresh Renewal of the Charge; before the Referee had judged in it. Yet for all this, he never gives Mr. *Baxter* any ill Language, never exposes him for his too manifest Failings; nor, as others had done, reckon'd up Self-Contradictions, or his unadvised (to say no worse) Expressions in his Writings. No, he would not return Railing, nor do any thing to lessen Mr. *Baxter's* Reputation: And that, much on this Reason, lest he should thereby prejudice the Readers of Mr. *Baxter's* useful Practical and Devotional Books, and hereby render them less beneficial. (a) These I have heard Mr. *Dodwell* commend, and wish that Mr. *Baxter* had, as Archbishop *Usher* advised him, wholly employed himself on such useful Subjects.

IN the next place I must take Notice of his great *Humility*, a Vertue often wanting in Persons of eminent Learning. Mr. *Dodwell*, tho' carested by great Men, both of this and foreign Nations, was not elated with their *Encomiums*. Nay, he was so far from this, that when he published the Papers of Persons, to which he returned Answers, he studiously suppressed the just Declaration of his eminent Learning and great Merits: Nay, though desired, would not permit such Commendations to be published; particularly what that worthy Person of the *Isle of Man* wrote in his Letter concerning *Incense*, when Mr. *Dodwell*, in Answer thereto, wrote that valuable Treatise on that Subject. His Hu-

(a) See Mr. *Dodwell's* Reply to Mr. *Baxter*, in Defence of his Book of *Schism*, § 3.

inility appeared in his being so little concerned for personal Injuries, as the opprobrious Language of *Gronovius*, and the vile Treatment he met with from Mr. *Toland*; both which, so far as concerned himself, he pass'd over in Silence; of both which I have said enough before. His propounding his own Opinion with a Submission to the Judgment of others, and sometimes with an Expectation, nay a Desire, of the Opinion of others, in the Case, that his own might be rectified, and the Truth might appear. As in his *Dissert. IX. § 45. De Cyclis. Hæc mihi interim satisfaciunt: Exspecto tamen quid sit dicturus, promissus à Cl. Norisio, Toinardus.* Many other Passages might be cited out of his Works to the same Purpose: As the Conclusion of his *Appendix* to his *Camdenian Lectures* before-mentioned.

YET his Humility and Modesty were no Bar to his Zeal for GOD's Glory, to his free and sincere Dealing, even with his Superiors, when there was a just Occasion. As he was always careful to preserve his own Integrity, so when he observed others prevaricate, and forsake their old honest Principles, being swayed by secular Interest, or some other false Byass, he would with Freedom mind them of it. He was careful to pay a due Deference to his Superiors, yet still with regard to Truth, to Religion, to the Interest of Christianity, and the Welfare of the *Church*. If these were struck at, or endangered, he thought himself obliged to act with Freedom, even towards his Superiors; to deal plainly with them, though with Humility and Submissiveness. As he made it his Exercise to keep a good Conscience, so was

he desirous to rectify the Consciences of others, especially when he judged the Peace and Happiness of the *Church*, or State, concerned. His Zeal might in some Mens Thoughts, and possibly in Reality, at such a time transport him beyond the Bounds of Prudence: But who is there that hath not his Infirmities? And certainly in these Cases, wherein good Men think the Honour of GOD concerned, we ought to make Allowances, if they seem to exceed in their Zeal; especially, when in the general Tenor of their Lives, they are highly exemplary: And there are none that are acquainted with Mr. *Dodwell's* Writings, but must own, that he therein expresses great Candor, Meekness, Modesty, and Humility.

HIS undaunted Courage appeared from a Letter he wrote to be communicated to an eminent Bishop, who prosecuted those who assembled by themselves, in that they could not join with others, lest they should incur the Guilt of Schism.

“ He’s sorry that that Bishop should deny that
 “ Favour to his *old Brethren*, (who are still his
 “ Brethren on the old Terms) which even *Papists* and *Quakers* are permitted to enjoy. He
 “ argues the Case. He desires that he would
 “ answer what has been said in our Books, and
 “ in case of farther Exceptions, give us Leave
 “ to reply. I foresee (saith he) no Reason he
 “ can have to except against these Things, if he
 “ designs the Good of our Souls, and the Satisfaction of our Consciences. If *Force* be all,
 “ let us in GOD’s Name resolve to obey GOD
 “ rather than *him*, since he has, by his Schism,
 “ divested himself of His Divine Authority.

“ GOD

“ GOD Almighty animate his little Flock, and
“ give us Grace to persevere to the End. -----
“ Heaven will make Amends for all.

As for Mr. *Dodwell's Temperance*, that's too mean a Word to express his Moderation in the Use of Meat and Drink, and his extraordinary *Abstinence*: For he not only forbore the Use of strong Liquors and delicious Fare, but also fasted three Days in a Week, viz. on *Wednesday*, *Friday*, and *Saturday*: And this, not as those that think they keep *Fasts*, when they forbear eating *Flesh-Meat*, tho' they indulge themselves in eating *delicious Fish*, and drinking *rich Wines*; but in abstaining from all Food, except a Dish or two of Coffee or Tea, (tho' in his two last Years, when declining, he was prevailed with to drink a little Chocolate) till Supper-time; and that was not till Seven of the Clock at Night, and then he eat nothing of *Flesh-Meat*. And thus he fasted *every Day* all the Time of *Lent*, except the *Lord's-Day*, on which he eat a Dinner, but nothing of *Flesh-Meat*. This Practice he continued till the two last *Lents* of his Life, which he was hardly prevailed with by his Friends to desist from, notwithstanding he was much decay'd and impaired in his Health. Tho' even then he confined himself to his Fast of three Days in a Week, which he continued till his last Sickness. When, at the Beginning of the first of those *Lents*, he was (by his Friends Arguing, back'd with the Judgment of Casuists whom he consulted) persuaded to desist from his former Usage, he thus express'd himself: “ Have I kept
“ Lent these Nine and forty Years, and must I
M m 3 “ now,

"now leave it off?" I take the more Notice of this pious Person's Practice, because in this Age *Fasts*, however those that are *solemn*, are scarce esteemed as a Christian's Duty, and are looked on as if they were never required under the Gospel, or used in the first and best Ages of Christianity.

POSSIBLY some may be so far from esteeming this as a Vertue in Mr. *Dodwell*, as to think it blame-worthy; and that on this Reason, because this *Ascetick* Life might, in their Thoughts, render this very good Man less sweet in his Conversation; at least at some times, how agreeable soever ordinarily it might be to them that visited him; and be ready to impute some Moroseness, which at some times he might seem guilty of, to his immoderate Fasting, especially if, in their Observation, it chiefly appeared at such a time. This I may apprehend with them to be probable. But we must not condemn Practices that are in themselves praise-worthy, because some Inconveniencies may attend them; nor, on such Apprehensions, suppress the Examples of such extraordinary Abstinence; especially considering the Age we live in, wherein Men run into the contrary Extremes, when Drunkenness and Intemperance are scarce esteemed *Sins*; however but *small* ones.

I AM likewise apt to impute some other Inconveniencies to his retired Life, and his Unacquaintedness with the World, his studying Books more than Men. As from hence he had more of the Innocence of the Dove, than the Wisdom of the Serpent, so it had an Influence on his Writings,

things, and made him express his Thoughts less clearly than he would have done, had he more frequently conversed with the Generality of Mankind. This I am ready to impute, in a great Measure, to his Retirement, and his Conversing with few but Scholars. He took from thence wrong Measures of the Understandings of Men in general, looking on them as of a larger Size than in truth they were, and making his own reach the Standard of Mankind: By which Means he over-shot them, and wrote less suitably to their Capacities. He judged, that because his Notions and Expressions were easy to some, they would be such to all his Readers.

IN his Reasonings he may seem to be Guilty in the other Extreme; and I find him, in his Letters, complaining to his Friends, that he was not able to comprize his Thoughts in few Words. He thought, that what he concluded was not demonstrated, or firm, unless he laid a large Foundation. This occasioned, in his Writings, frequent Excursions, which many Readers may think impertinent to the Subject he handles: But they were such, which he judged requisite to prevent and obviate Objections which might be started, and to leave such as dissented from him excusable. And possibly, sometimes, that he might oblige his Reader with somewhat that might please or benefit him, that had not been observed by others, which what he treated of brought into his Thoughts. For ordinarily those *Digressions*, or what seems to be such, contain Matter of singular Use, as tending to clear some Passage in the Holy Scriptures, or in the ancient Fathers,

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or else give Light to the History of the *Church*, correct the Mistakes of learned Men, or such as may help to lay a Foundation for Catholick Peace and Unity, and generally, things not observed by others. And withall, such as he judged serviceable to his Design, tho' they might not appear (at least at first) such to his Reader.

How firm Mr. *Dodwell* was to the *Church of England*, appears both from his Writings and his Practice. As he had studied the Nature of the *Catholick Church*, and the Necessity of each *Christian's* communicating with it; so he made the *Bishop* of each District the *Principle* of this *Unity*, and not the *Pope*, and asserted, that the *Pope's* claiming this was an unjust Usurpation. He, indeed, asserted the Necessity of *Union*, the Danger of *Schism*, and that *Christians* unnecessary withdrawing from the Communion of their own *Bishop*, was *Schism*; but this is no good Reason for branding him as a *Papist*; nay, the Charge is unjust, as well as uncharitable. He shews, (in his Reply to Mr. *Baxter*, in his Defence of his Book of *Schism*, § 1.) " That he has as much to
" clear himself from the Imputation of *Popery*,
" as Mr. *Baxter* can have; his Education from the
" Beginning, in the Communion of the *Church*
" of *England*, and never varying from it: His
" Renunciation of *Popery*, when he was made
" Fellow of the College of *Dublin*, (which, says
" he, Mr. *Baxter* is willing to asperse, because
" I had once the Honour to be a Member of it:)
" His Books against *Popery*, in one of which,
" (viz. *Considerations of present Concernment*) he
" has endeavoured to prove, that the Doctrines
" of

“ of the *Church*, as well as of the *Court* of *Rome*,
“ are treasonable.” Had he been inclined to
Popery, as has been injuriously suggested, there
was a *Time* when his *Interest* would have prom-
pted him to discover it, *viz.* the *Reign* of *King*
James II. But he was then so far from it, that
he then freely, boldly, and publicly disputed
with, and against, the *Papists*, especially those
that were *Apostates* from the *Church* of *England*.
He at that *Time*, as he had done before, wrote
against the *Papists*, reprinting his *Two Discour-*
ses, with a new *Preface*, to shew how indefen-
sible the *Separation* of *English Papists* from the
Communion of our *Church* was, &c. of which
before. And this he did at a *Time*, when they,
who would be thought the most zealous *Prote-*
stants, by their fawning *Addresses*, betray’d the
Interest of the *Reformation*, and encouraged the
Methods used to undermine the best reformed,
and best constituted *Church* on *Earth*. *Mr. Dod-*
well thus continued a firm *Friend* to the *Prote-*
stant Reformation, to his *Death*. In his *Parane-*
sis, he shews, how mean the *Pope’s* Pretences are
to a *Supremacy*; especially, that which his Cham-
pions insist on, the *Primacy* of *S. Peter*: “ That he
“ had no such *Supremacy* over the other *Apostles*,
“ when he was at *Rome*; that he had no *Suc-*
“ *cessor* in his *Apostleship*, much less in any *Su-*
“ *periority* over the *Apostles*; that if we allow
“ him any *Supremacy*, and any *Succeſsor* in it, this
“ must belong not to the *Church* of *Rome*, but
“ to that of *Jerusalem*.” See the rest, § 43. In
the last *Book* he published himself, *viz.* that of
Licence, he persisted in justifying our *Reforma-*
tion.

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tion. Pag. 112, &c. he shews, " That the Do-
 "ctrine of the first and purest Age, is to be look-
 "on as the Standard; that from this, there
 "was a Variation in After-Ages; that the Nu-
 "merousness of such who thus varied, can be
 "no Justification of their Practice; neither ought
 "the Consent of the more numerous Churches in
 "later Ages, to be taken for a Proof, that what
 "greater Numbers of Churches, in middle Ages,
 "do agree in, ought therefore to be presumed
 "to have descended from truly Apostolical Tra-
 "dition; or to prescribe against a Recourse to
 "Originals, for trying the Merit of the Cause."
 By which he overthrows the *Infallibility* of Oral
Tradition, which is so much insisted upon by the
Romanists, in their Cause against our *Reforma-*
tion. For which, the Bishop of *Sarum* returns
 him Thanks, in his last Letter.

THERE'S one thing farther, that may con-
 vince the World what Honour Mr. *Dodwell* had
 for the *Church of England*, when it came in com-
 petition with that of *Rome*; which is this that fol-
 lows. When he had Correspondence in Matters
 of *Chronology*, not only with the Bishop of *Wor-*
cester, but also with those learned Foreigners,
Norris, the Keeper of the *Vatican* Library, and
Pagi; he dedicated those Chronological Trea-
 tises, his *Annales Velleiani Quintilianei, Statiani,*
& Pliniani, to those Friends of his, who had
 employed themselves in Studies of the same
 Kind with himself, and made the Dedication
 in that Order as I have named them. But when
 the Book came to the Press, and his Friends had
 heard that *Norris* was advanced to be a Car-
 dinal;

dinal ; they altered the Order of the Dedication, and put *Norris* before Bishop *Lloyd*, thus, *Eminentissimo H. Norisio, Reverendo admodum Guil. Lloydio, &c.* Mr. *Dodwell* so far disliked this, that he suppressed all that Dedication, (as the suppressed Sheets among his Papers yet testify) in that he thought it unworthy a Son of the Church of England to postpone a Bishop of that Church to any of the Church of Rome, tho' advanced to the greatest Dignity, under that of a Pope, in that Church, tho' he paid a due Deference to him, as a learned Person, and his Friend. And this he did, when he might have cleared himself, and thrown the whole Blame on the Authors of the new Dedication ; and when withall, the Printing it anew, as he had at first penned it, could not but increase the Charge.

I MUST not omit the Veneration Mr. *Dodwell* had for the sacred Ministry, and the Deference he paid to CHRIST'S Ministers on account of their Office. There were few things that he more warmly resented than Contempt cast on Clergymen, (b) : And that, because it reflected on CHRIST their Master, in whose immediate Service they were employed ; and withall, when hereby a Disesteem of Religion itself was produced : For when Men were ready to entertain contemptuous Thoughts of Religion, when they observed such, whose Office it was immediately to serve therein, to promote the Interest of Religion, slighted, affronted, and contemned. He was

(b) This is evident by his Letter (above-mention'd) concerning Mr. Toland.

much concerned, that there should be any who impiously deny, and ridicule the Rights of the Clergy: The Design of which Men, is, to undermine all Religion, and (if it was possible) to extirpate all Sense thereof out of the Minds of Men. But these Men Mr. *Dodwell* did not so much wonder at, because Religion is the great Enemy of the Lusts and Crimes they indulge themselves in the Commission of; as at Clergy-men themselves, especially, if of the highest Degree, who spoke or wrote any thing that might create in any a Disesteem of their own sacred Function, either by denying its just Rights, Dignities, and Privileges, and hereby lessening that Authority wherewith CHRIST has invested His Ministers; or, who by a needless Ripping up, and Aggravating the Faults of some Clergymen, thereby expose the whole Order to Reproach. Hence, when he had any occasion to mention any Faults of the Clergy; he did it with a due Deference to their Office, and express'd a hearty Concern, that any of them should detract from the Dignity of their Function, or assert any thing which might lessen that Esteem and Veneration which was due to it: Especially, when done in this profligate Age, wherein the Enemies of Religion lay hold on every thing that they can improve to its Disadvantage, of which this is none of the least; the Contempt cast upon its Ministers, (c). He treated Clergymen, that were his Adversaries, with a Reverence due to their Function, however he had been treated by them.

(b) *Second Letter to the Bishop of Sarum, p. 30.*

I SHALL conclude with taking Notice of Mr. Dodwell's great Piety, in living under the Sense of GOD's Fatherly Care and Providence, and in His constant and solemn Adoration of Him.

HE frequently recounted the signal Providences of GOD to himself, his Preservation at his Birth, in that dismal, calamitous Time; GOD's raising up Friends for him seasonably, and unexpectedly; of which the Reader may before find the Instances. Particularly, GOD's providing the *Camdenian* Professorship for him, at such a Time, in which he should otherwise have been reduced to great Streights, in that, by reason of the Com-motions then happening in *Ireland*, he was deprived of the Rents of his Estate, which lay in that Kingdom.

As he expressed his Sense of God's Providence, by his grateful recounting of God's especial Favours, so he did likewise by his patient Submission to those Losses he sustained, and by his Trust and Dependence on God for Futurities: The first he express'd upon his being deprived of that desirable Preferment of his Professorship, upon his Refusal of the new Oaths; he then prefixes this to his *Seventeenth Lecture*, which he had designed, but was forbidden, to read, *The Lord gives, and the Lord taketh away; Blessed be the Name of the Lord.* And as for his Reliance in God, he express'd this when he had a Prospect of Death near approaching, and observed his Wife concerned for the Loss that she and their Children should thereby sustain; he told her, that as he was not, so neither ought she to be dejected at this; and that on this Consideration, because
GOD

GOD was a Father of the Fatherless, and a Husband to the Widows of them that put their Trust in Him; and that he was assured, GOD would be such to his Widow, and Orphans; and that as GOD had given him Children, so He would provide for them.

I NOW come to Mr. *Dodwell's Piety*, with respect to the immediate Worship of GOD, his solemn and private Addresses at the Throne of Grace. As for the first, the Celebrating the Publick Prayers of the *Church*, no Clergyman (on whom there's a greater Obligation) could be more punctual. As he joined in the Care and Charge, for some Years, in providing a Minister of CHRIST to offer up the solemn Offices of our *Church* to GOD, so he constantly joined therein, unless prevented by Journies: And at such Times he celebrated those Offices by himself. He joined in the daily Prayers to the last Day of his Life, being at the Evening Prayers on *June 6th*, and died the next Morning presently after Four of the Clock. At that Evening Service, he desired, and received, the *Absolution* of our *Church*. He always performed the publick Worship with that *Reverence* as is suitable to such religious Exercises: And even till three Days before his Death, which was so long as his Strength would permit him, observed the reverential *Gestures* prescribed by the *Church*; which testify, and tend to excite those holy Affections, which are requisite in our Addresses, before the Sovereign Majesty of Heaven and Earth.

HE would never omit any Opportunity of receiving the *Lord's Supper*, when celebrated in
such

such a Communion wherein he could join. He encouraged and commended those that were conscientious herein, and very much blamed such who neglected it, to the great Hurt of their own Souls, and the Scandalizing of others.

WHAT Mr. *Dodwell's* *secret* Devotions were, could only be known to GOD and to himself, any other way but by his Retirement. But these may well be presumed to be performed by him, by that Regard he had to all GOD's Commandments, and by his recommending such Exercises to others, in his Preface to the Book entituled, *An Introduction to a devout Life*. These he would not have recommended to others, had not he himself practised them. And we conclude it from his religious Addresses at the Throne of Grace with his Family, together with the Singing of a Psalm, immediately before he went to his Bed.

HAVING given this Account of Mr. *Dodwell*, I might now entertain the Reader with that Deference which learned Men both of this and of other Nations paid him, and what Elogiums they bestowed upon him: How much Foreigners, and even some of a different Communion, courted his Friendship by kind Letters, Presents of Books newly printed, mentioning him with Honour in their Writings, and the like Expressions of the Value they had for him. Such were Cardinal *Noris*, *Pagi*, *Magliabecchi*.

SEVERAL kind Letters passed betwixt him and the learned *Grævius*, Professor at *Utrecht*, in one of which, after great Profession of Love and Honour he had for Mr. *Dodwell*, he adds, *Quanti faciendus*

faciendus est, qui ingenii præstantiâ, & Doctrinâ diffuse per varias disciplinæ copiâ, nulli nostri sæculi est secundus. The like passed betwixt him and *Perizonius*, a learned Professor at *Leyden*, replete with Professions of mutual Kindness, in which they communicated their Observations to each other, which would not be unwelcome to the Reader, as those that are to be found in his Intercourse betwixt him and other learned Men. What Characters these bestowed on him, may be found in *Mr. Hearne's* Account thereof, before *Mr. Dodwell's* Dissertation on *Dr. Woodward's* Shield.



C H A P. XLIII.

Mr. Dodwell's Death, farther Character, and Epitaph.



R. Dodwell's Piety, which is the most honourable Part of his Character, manifested its reality in the last Days and Hours of his Life. He had sensibly decayed for a Week before his Decease, but especially on *Wednesday*,

June 6. At One of the Clock in the Morning, on *June 7.* he sent for me; and I presently apprehended that he had but a few Hours to live. When we prayed by him, and for him, and withall read some Portions of Scripture, especially out of the *Psalms*, suited to his Condition, he blamed himself, that he could not intend his Mind to what was read to him, and in the Prayers presented for him; Requested our private Prayers, and sent up several Ejaculations to Almighty God; such as, *Lord JESUS, have Mercy on me: Lord, lift up the Light of Thy Countenance on me, &c.*

Not long before his Departure, he gave me Thanks, as for other Expressions of my Love, so for this Last especially, that I would at that unseasonable time of the Night afford him Help and Assistance. What would I not have done for him, whose personal Worth, and, much more, the Obligations he had laid on me, challenged from me, even

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whatever lay in my Power? He had, before that, thanked his Wife for her great Kindness to him: And, indeed, she deserved it, from her singular Care, and continued Attendance on him Day and Night; for some Nights having never gone to bed, and got little or no Sleep. When we observed him just a dying, (tho' somewhat sooner than we expected, having not the usual Coldness in Hands and Feet) we presented the Commendatory Prayer to God for him; to which he was heard, by one that was nearest to him, to say, even when just expiring, *Amen*. By which we found, that as he had, thro' God's Goodness, enjoyed all along, even to some Minutes before, the Use of his Reason, and Ability to exert Acts of Piety and Faith; so God granted this Mercy to him in his last Moment.

MR. *Dodwell's* Person is well described by Mr. *Hearne*, (*Vol. 5. of Leland*, p. 112. where is a fuller Account of him.) “ He was of a
 “ small, but well-proportion'd Stature, of a
 “ sanguine (and I add, a fair) Complexion, of
 “ a grave, serious, but a comely pleasant Countenance, of a piercing Eye, of a solid Judgment, and ready Apprehension. He was a
 “ faithful and sincere Friend, very charitable to
 “ the Poor, (notwithstanding the Narrowness of
 “ his Fortune;) free and open in his Discourse
 “ and Conversation, (which he always managed
 “ without the least personal Reflexion) courteous
 “ and affable to all People, chearful in the
 “ highest Afflictions and Calamities, facetious
 “ upon all proper Occasions, ever ready to give
 “ his Counsel and Advice, and extremely com-
 “ municative

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“municative of his great Knowledge.” See the rest.

HE was naturally of a strong, vigorous Constitution of Body. He has sometimes told his Friends, that he knew not (that is, by his own Experience) what the Head-ach was. This was of the greatest Advantage to him in his indefatigable Studies: That as his natural *Genius* and Inclination of Mind prompted him to the acquiring of Knowledge, and to the Improvement and Use thereof to the Benefit of others; so the Strength and Vigour of his Body, which GOD gave him, enabled him with extraordinary Diligence, to read and digest such variety of Authors, and afterwards to make such Use of them in those many learned Tracts which he has published.

NOTWITHSTANDING, this must be owned, that this made him less careful of his Health than he ought to have been; he relying too much on the Strength of his Constitution. That constant Enjoyment of his Health, (to which his strict Temperance much conduced) and the quick Going-off of Indispositions, without the Use of Medicaments, in his earliest Age, made him averse to them afterwards when absolutely requisite; he telling his Friends, that put him upon the Use of them, that Nature would do its own Work. This made him likewise too careless in avoiding, in his declining Age, what was noxious, because the like formerly had been of no Disadvantage to him: And this Carelessness was then, in a special manner, detrimental to him in his Journeys, when he wanted the Care

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of them, who at other Times daily attended him, and prevented such Inconveniencies, especially that of his affectionate Consort. He, having been disused to a due Regard of himself, while the natural State of his Body rendred it less needful, neglected that Care afterwards when absolutely necessary.

HE had a Cough for Two Years before he died, which happened on the following Occasion to be increased. He would not be diverted from his wonted Custom of travelling on *Foot* to *London*, (which, tho' 26 Miles, he used some Years before to perform with Ease in a Day's Time;) and this in a Winter-Season, when the Ways were foul, and the Days short. When he was within a Mile of *Hounslow*, the Night overtook him. He, fearing lest he should lose his Way on the Heath, his Eye-sight being then decayed, kept all along in the Horse-Path, tho' very dirty, and thereby went in wet up to the Ancles for that Mile. When he came to his Inn, he made not that haste to his Bed as was requisite: And, which was still worse, the next Morning put on his Stockings and Shooes thus wet, (the People of the Inn having neglected to dry 'em) and thus travelled the remaining Ten Miles to *London*. By this Means, his Cough became violent. It was a considerable Time before he would take any thing to remove it, when perswaded thereto, tho' the Cough was lessened at first, yet not cured. At length he was seized with an intermitting Fever, which the *Cortex* could not conquer. At first, whilst the Fever was a *Tertian*, he, during the Interval,

val, would not desist from his Studies; but when it came every Day, he was forced to it. Then, being in Prospect of Death, having Two Years before made his Will, he left Directions about publishing such Manuscripts which he had finished; particularly, *S. Barnabas's Epistle*, with the *Notes* and *Prolegomena*; and others, as his Friends should judge convenient. He desired me to deliver to Dr. *Woodward* what he had written concerning his *Shield*; and gave me order about his imperfect Letter, concerning the Laws of Nature and Nations, (as I have before shewn;) a Subject, which, as he himself purposed, had he lived to have prosecuted, so I question not but others will wish, that he had lived to have finish'd it.

FROM the first Approach of his Fever, his Strength decay'd; but especially, in the 6 or 7 last Days of his Life. Tho', on *June 5.* he enjoyed an easier Night than on some before; yet, notwithstanding that, on *Wednesday, June 6.* he more than before sensibly decayed. Yet, that Night he walked, tho' with Trouble, from the Room where he sate, and joined in the Prayers of the Church, to his Bed. At which Time, he, having lately received the Holy Eucharist in the Parish Church, desired, and received the Absolution, directed by our Church, from my Hands.

UPON my Coming to him at One a Clock the next Morning, *June 7.* he complained for Want of Rest, which GOD had granted to him as large a Proportion of, as could be expected in his Case, the Paroxysm being chiefly in the
N n 3 Night.

550 *His Death, and Epitaphs.*

Night. This GOD at length, after those Expressions of true Christian Piety before-mention'd, granted to him a little after Four of the Clock : For then ἐκοιμήθη, he *slept* in the Lord, and *rested* from his Labours.

HIS Humility and wonted Modesty appeared, in forbidding a Sermon at his Funeral, that he might prevent those *Elogiums* that are given at such a Time, and could hardly be avoided at the Interment of so eminent a Person. Tho' afterwards, Two worthy Clergymen took Occasion to recommend his exemplary Christian Conversation to the Imitation of his Neighbours, and to warm their Hearts anew with the Remembrance of those Vertues, of which they had felt the comfortable Influence.

MR. *Dodwell* was buried in the Chancel of the Church of *Shottesbrooke*, and hath this plain Inscription on his Grave-Stone.

Here lieth
The Learned and Pious
 HENRY DODWELL, M. A.
Sometimes Fellow
Of Trinity College near Dublin,
Camden Professor of History in Oxon.
Born at Dublin Oct. MDC XLI.
Died at Shottesbrooke
The VII of June, MDCCXI.
Anno Æt. LXX.

BUT forasmuch as this great Man deserved a fairer Monument, (though his learned Works will be the best Preserver of his Memory) and an Inscription thereon, expressing fully and lively his Character, his worthy Widow bestowed the first of beautiful Marble, and the latter we owe to the Reverend Dr. *Friend*, very eminent for his great Learning, and those other singular Accomplishments, which so well qualify him to fill, with universal Applause, that important Station of presiding over *Westminster* School; and from whose Care and Conduct the next Generation may expect to be supplied with fit Persons to adorn and discharge the weightiest Employments, both in Church and State. He was pleased very readily to comply with the Request that was made him, to pay this Piece of Respect to Mr. *Dodwell's* Memory; and when the Reader shall have carefully perused the following Inscription, he must own that the Learned Doctor hath perfumed the Grave of his Friend, and transmitted his Character down to Posterity with all Advantage, by his elegant and masterly Pen.

*Accede Hospes quicunq; Literarum Studia
Vel Humanarum vel Divinarum sapis.
Disce marmor hoc quem signet virum.
Hic Ille sua condi ossa voluit,
Cui inter vivos frustra quæsi veris parem.*

HENRICUS DODWELLUS

*In quo conjuncta erant
Cum memoriâ rerum prope infinitâ
Et Inventionis Fœcunditas
Et Judicii Acumen.
Cum mirifico quodam Pudore,
Animi Firmitas inconcussa.
Cum aliquâ in disputando vehementia,
Candor eximius.
Quod, difficillimis in re Chronologicâ nodis
Feliciter expeditis,
Novam Antiquæ Historiæ Lucem affuderit,
Eam Illi Laudem ultrò omnes
Quasi Suam & Propriam tribuunt.
Sed & Hanc etiam cum paucis communem habuit,
Quod toties in Arenâ Criticâ
Sine Fastu & Maledicentiâ certaverit :
Omnemque, quæqua patet, Eruditionis ambitum
Capaci Mente comprehenderit,
Istius interim,
Quam aucupari solent Eruditorum Coryphæi
Gloriolæ Contemptor.*

*Ad majora scilicet intentus,
Primævæ in Ecclesiâ Disciplinæ Vindex
Audire maluit,
Quam Reipublicæ Literariæ Lumen.
Vetere itaque Patrum Christianorum Monumenta
Indefessus perlustravit ;
Et quorum Scripta animo accuratè infixerat,
Eorum Severitatem & Sanctimoniam
In Vitâ accuratius expressit.*

*E Collegio SS. Trinitatis, prope Dubliniam,
Doctorem suffragiis accersitus,
Oxonium migravit ;
Ubi Camdeniani Prælectoris munus
Multâ cum Laude, quoad Potuit, sustinuit :
Inde cum recessisset,
In Ædibus Shottesbrochianis,
Amicissimi Viri Hospitio usus,
Inter Libros delituit, consenuit, obiit,
Juris Regii & Episcopalis
Ad Extremum usque Spiritum Propugnator.*

*Animam Eruditam, Simplicem, Piam
Deo reddidit, Jun. 7. A.D. 1711. Æta. 70.
Conjugi Optimo ANNA DODWELLA
M. P.*

I DOUBT not but that the Reader is highly gratified by this noble and elegant Inscription, which so clearly and advantageously gives him a Character of Mr. *Dodwell*. Had his Life been written with near that Elegancy and Accuracy, nay, had approached thereto, tho' at a great Distance, it would have been much to the Reader's Satisfaction, and (which is of less Concernment) to the Author's Honour.

YET, however mean my Performance is, I should be defective in my Duty as a Christian, and as a Minister of CHRIST, should I conclude without a grateful Acknowledgment of the Goodness of my Heavenly Father in continuing to me my Life, and also so great a Measure of Health in this my old Age, as to be enabled to finish this Undertaking, though falling short of Mr. *Dodwell's* Worth, and the Reader's Expectation. My Fault would be the greater, considering the Pattern of him which I have here represented; who, though he was careful to make use of his Time in acquiring Knowledge, and improving it to the Benefit of Mankind, yet would daily spare a considerable part thereof for religious Exercises, and Addresses at the Throne of Grace.

I THEREFORE humbly adore the Name of my Gracious GOD for *this* His Goodness, as well as for all His other manifold, singular Favours and Blessings exhibited to me a poor worthless Creature, who am less than the least of all His Mercies. And withall, I earnestly beg of Him, that He would be pleased to make this my mean Performance beneficial to my Readers,
in

in any respect, but chiefly by exciting them to act with the same Uprightness and Integrity as Mr. *Dodwell* did, and to imitate the Example of this industrious, humble, charitable, and pious Person.

Grant this, O Gracious Father, for the Sake of Thy Son JESUS CHRIST : To whom with Thee, and Thy Holy Spirit, be ascribed, as is most due, all Praise, Honour and Glory, now and for evermore, Amen.



The Conclusion.

in any respect, but chiefly by exciting them to
act with the same spirit and interest as
the Deacons did, and to emulate the example of
this industrious, humble, charitable, and pious
Person.

Given at the Court of the Church of the
Trinity, New York, this 1st day of
the Month of June, 1841, in the
presence of the Deacons and
Members of the Church.



MR. D O D W E L L's
HYPOTHESIS

Concerning the
I M M O R T A L I T Y
O F T H E
S O U L.

Extracted from his
Writings upon that Subject.

By the Author of His L I F E.



L O N D O N: Printed for RICHARD SMITH
at Bishop *Beveridge's* Head in *Pater-Noster-*
Row. 1714.

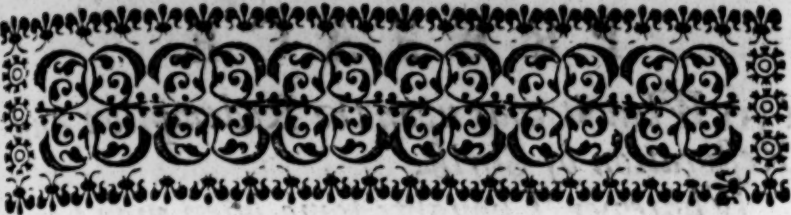


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PREFACE.



THIS Account of Mr. Dodwell's Hypothesis was collected and written at first, several Years since, for the Collector's own Use, to satisfy himself what was Mr. Dodwell's true Sense about the Soul, which was so variously reported and censured. In collecting of which out of his Writings on that Subject, where he met with any thing that was of use, and tending to clear any great Truths (tho' it may seem less serviceable to the main Dispute about the Soul) he took Notice of it for his own Satisfaction; and having then written it, was unwilling to be at the Pains to alter it: Especially when he thought that it might not displease the Reader more than himself, whatever his Thoughts might be of the main Hypothesis concerning the Soul.

He digested it into this Method by observing, (1.) What were Mr. Dodwell's Thoughts of the Soul in its first Original. (2.) What it was after the Fall. And, (3.) What

P R E F A C E.

(3.) *What it was upon the Redemption and Restoration by Christ.*

Whatever Thoughts some Men may have of this Performance of Mr. Dodwell's, yet they cannot but approve of his End and Design, when it was to clear the Justice of God in his Dealings with Heathens, with Ideots and unbaptized Infants, and to clear the Doctrine of Original Sin. As for accounting for the Doctrine of Reprobation, or Præterition, God may certainly choose what Nations or Persons he pleases for His Preternatural Favours, without derogating from his Attribute of Goodness; and He may as freely pass others by, and not admit them. And all the Consequence such a Pretermission, in reference to Supernatural Favours, would be to leave them entirely to their own Nature; which, as it would admit of no Immortal Enjoyments, so neither of Immortal Calamities. Here's nothing harsh.

308. *So likewise the giving Account of endless Torments, if God be pleased to leave Heathens and unbaptized Infants to their natural Mortality, nothing can be complained of. Infants may have the Benefit of their Innocence (Reward they cannot pretend to) even in their Separate State. They may be qualified for Conversation with good Spirits, and indisposed for receiving the Harm of the ill Offices of those that are Malignant. And their good Angels, allow'd to 'em (as the Ancients believ'd) at their Nativity, may protect*

P R E F A C E.

rest them in their Separate State, as it is now in their Bodies.

As for the Truth of the Hypothesis, this is left to the Judgment of the Reader, it being here only related, without any Censure or Approbation of it.

E. D. signifies the *Epistolary Discourse*; and where is only mention'd the Page and its Number, it refers to *that*.

Pr. the *Præmonition*.

1 P. D. the 1st Preliminary Defence.

2 P. D. the 2d Preliminary Defence.

In many Places he neglected to refer to the Place in Mr. Dodwell, and was now unwilling to trouble himself to find them out.



[illegible]

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

MR. DODWELL'S
HYPOTHESIS

Concerning the

Immortality of the Soul.



MR. Dodwell from several Expressions in the *New Testament* thinks the Immortality of the Soul, at least in Heaven, is suppos'd not to be known without Divine Revelation. This could not be true, if it could be prov'd by Reasons drawn from the Nature of the Soul (as known to us in this Life) antecedently to Divine Revelation.

MR. Dodwell did not think the Arguments fetch'd from the Immateriality of the Soul sufficient to prove its Immortality, and particularly those of *Descartes*, considering what might be argued for the Souls of Brutes. He did not take Reason for so secure a Standard of knowing the Nature of the Soul, as *Authority*; and not any Authority so proper as that of the *Holy Scriptures*, especially as interpreted by the Phrases and Notions about that

Time entertained, that was alluded to by the Sacred Writers, such as those of *Philo* and the *Hellenists*: Not as approving always the Philosophical Notions delivered by them, nor resolving what he did approve into the Authority of such as delivered them, but into that of the Holy Ghost tacitly approving them, and sometimes correcting them. He ascribes likewise much to the Traditions of the Catholick Church of the first and purest Ages, for which almost all Persons and Churches pretend a Reverence. He concludes that, as the Judgment thereof would secure him from the Charge of Innovation, so from that of favouring Impiety, when the first Ages of the Church were so far from being guilty of that Charge. He consider'd what the Doctrines of the Holy Scriptures were, as from themselves, so from the first Christian Writers, who are on good Reason to be suppos'd best acquainted with the Doctrines deliver'd to them by the Apostles or their immediate

E. D. p. 32. Successors. But he doth not think that the Consent of all, or the greatest Part, of particular Churches *now*, at this Distance we live in from the Apostles, was such an Argument. The *Protestants* took many Doctrines, as they found them, without examining them from Originals, when of no Use in the Controversies then disputed: And as for the two great Bodies of the *Greeks* and the *Romanists*, considering

ing their Allowance of new Revelations since the Apostles Times, and their precarious Proofs of them, he looks not on them as sufficient Attesters of Apostolick Doctrines. He did not imagine, that in *P. D.* an Age, which owns the great Improve-*P. 22, 23.* ments of the late Philosophy, and the Justice of the Ecclesiastical Reformation, which ought then never to have been attempted; that an Attempt to disprove generally receiv'd Errors would be esteem'd a Crime; neither could he imagine this a just Ground to do it, for fear of introducing Scepticism; there being no Reason, that any should have a Liberty to doubt of Principles that are really unquestionable, for the Sake of such which have seem'd hitherto unquestionable for want of a particular Application in considering them. For if this be admitted, we must leave all Knowledge in the State we found it in, and never offer at any Improvement of it; nor ever reform any sinful Practice, because generally receiv'd, as that of *Image-Worship* was both by the Western and Eastern Churches at the Time of our Reformation. The Condemning this makes not the Consent of the whole Catholick Primitive Church questionable, because it affects the whole Church in both Parts of it, tho' both pretending to a faithful Delivery of what they receiv'd from the Apostles.

1. MR. Dodwell from 1 *Tim.* vi. 16. in general concludes, that God is He, ὁ μόνος ἔχων Ἀθανασίαν, who only hath Immortality; that He alone is ἀγέννητος καὶ ἀφθαρτος, *Joh.* v. 26. who has ζῶν ἐν ἑαυτῷ. That nothing else can be Immortal, but as it derives its Immortality from Him, who is αὐτοζωή. As for *Man* in his first Original, before his Fall.

2. GOD created *Adam* out of the Dust of the Earth, and then breathed into him the Breath of Life, and he became a living Soul. This supposes, that (1st) he was form'd out of the Dust of the Earth; that he had from *that* no other Life, but such as *Brutes*, which oblig'd him to return to Dust again, *Gen.* iii. 19. Had nothing farther been added by God, he would have been perishable as Beasts, nor could this Principle have secur'd him from actual Mortality, so that he could not have surviv'd the Dissolution of the Body. As for his Body, 'tis evident, that it is naturally Mortal; otherwise there would have been no need of different Sexes in order to the Propagation of Mankind, as there will be none at the Resurrection; nor any need of the Tree of Life, to make them Immortal. If the Body is thus naturally Mortal, a naturally mortal Soul is more suitable to it than one naturally Immortal.

tal. This Mr. Dodwell calls the *Choical Soul*.

Tho' withall, the Body is Part of ourselves, and not præter-natural, (as some *Philosophers*, and some *Hereticks* asserted) and thence capable of Rewards and Punishments, and consequently the Resurrection of them, as the Church believes, is consonant to Reason, that it might partake in Rewards and Punishments.

3. God super-added His *Afflatus*; God breathed into Man the *Breath of Life* (call'd *The Spirit of Man*) קַיִם הָיָה and then he became ψυχὴ ζῶσα. All which answers the *Greek Translation*, which is follow'd in the New Testament: Ἐπλασεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, χεὶν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐνεφύθη εἰς τὸ πρὸσωπον αὐτοῦ πνέον ζώης, καὶ ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν. Here's a Man suppos'd before God's Breathing: If a Man, then not a dead Man, which is indeed no Man, but one animated with a lower Soul, common to him with Beasts, and not to be imputed to a Divine Breathing. But the Breathing gave him the Honour, which (according to the *Psalmist*) distinguish'd him from, and exalted him above, the Beasts that perish. As by the former he had an Animal Life, and that only; so by this Breathing he became superior to all other visible Animals; that as the Spirit of the Beast goeth downward, so this Spirit of Man goeth upwards, *Ec.iii.21*.

God made a remarkable Difference in the Formation of *Man* and other Animals: Concerning these, he saith, *Let the Earth bring forth the Living Creature after his Kind*, Gen. i. 24. making them the Production of the Earth; but of *Man*, Ver. 26. *Let us make Man*, and Ver. 27. *So God created Man*. Vid. *Letter to Mr. N. p. 124*.

THE making of the superiour and inferior Soul to be only two distinct Powers of one Principle by Divines, is taken from *Aristotelian* Principles deriv'd from the *Arabians*. But the ancient Fathers thought otherwise. Therefore Bishop *Pearson* thinks that the Article of *Christ's Descent into Hell* was inserted in Opposition to the *Apollinarians*, who thought the Divinity supply'd the Place of the Humane Soul in Christ. As God, he could not descend, as being Omnipresent; the *Choical* Soul could not, that being dissolv'd with the Body; therefore it was the *superiour* Soul that descended. S. *Athanasius* shews against *Apollinaris*, that it was necessary Christ should assume this Soul, as well as the other, (the *Choical* Soul) in order to be the Saviour of the World.

BUT then Mr. *Dodwell* supposes, that this Soul is not of itself immortal (tho' by it he is fitted for the Reception of the Spirit, which renders it immortal, of which more afterwards.) But as *Philo* expresses it, this πνοή is ἀναθυμίασις, like the Steams of *Odoriferous Bodies*, that cannot pretend
to

to any long Continuance, or any proper natural Immortality of themselves. Yet he declares, that it is not dissolv'd with the Body, against Dr. *Coward* and Mr. *Layton*, but that it will continue till the Resurrection, if not till the general Conflagration; of which more afterwards.

THIS *Pnoë* is the Light which lighteth P. 134. every Man that cometh into the World.

THIS was suppos'd by *Tertullian* to be S. 15. *ex traduce*, and so by others till the 4thth M. P. Century; and tho' then contradicted, yet 41, 42. was it not then condemn'd.

4. THAT God did to all this add His Spirit the Holy Ghost, which is call'd by St. *Peter*, 1 *Pet.* Θεῖα Φύσις, the Divine Nature; by which he becomes ὁλοτελής 1 P. D. and ὁλόκληρος, 1 *Thess.* v. 23. The Spirit P. 94. seems to be the Likeness of God, in which E. D. p. 27. God is said to create Man.

THE *πνοή* was from God, and in the Opinion of the *Heathens* (quoted by St. P. 118. *Paul*, *Act.* xvii. 28.) made us God's Offspring, and qualify'd all Mankind for a preter-natural State of Immortality and E. D. p. Happiness. And hence sometimes call'd 159. Spirit. This Breathing made them neither naturally Mortal nor Immortal, but capable of either. But by the Addition of the Holy Spirit, the Divine Nature, to the other Constituents of Humane Nature, he became τέλειος, perfect, (in the Style 49. of *Theophilus Antioch*) a God, and there-
by

by entitled to Immortality, and the heavenly οἰκητήριον. This is that which the Apostle calls πνεῦμα ζωοποιῶν, the quickening Spirit, 1 Cor. xv. 45. The second Adam.

THE humane Soul, without this Accession of this nobler Divine Principle, this adscititious Spirit, would not have been actually immortal.

1 M. p. 53. THIS shewn to be Sense of S. J. M. in his Dialogue with Tryphon, 1 M. p. 54, 55, 59.

24. THIS is deriv'd from the Λόγος, who is call'd by Philo, αὐτοῦ ἀνθρώπου, and ἀνθρώπου εὐσυνώδης.

303. 5. UPON Adam's Fall, he, and consequently his Posterity, lost the Spirit, which would have actually immortaliz'd him. The Spirit was a *preter-natural* Favour, to the Continuance of which God was not oblig'd, it being not due to us by any Exigency of Nature: And, therefore, upon Adam's Sin, God might justly deny both to him and his Posterity, this, and the Immortality consequent thereupon, which was his own free Gift. By which Mr. Dodwell shews, how easy an Account may be given of the Doctrine of *Original Sin*; which he doth out of the Commentaries ascrib'd to St. Ambrose, on Rom. v. 12. And in E. D. p. 303, 305. gives from hence an Account of the miserable Consequence of Adam's Fall. From the Loss of the Holy Spirit ensues the *Darkness* of our

our Minds, from the want of the Spirit whose Work 'tis to enlighten us. When in Darkness, they are *Slaves* to the Devil under the Darkness of this World, of which the Devil is the Prince. They are hence Slaves to fleshly Lusts, to the Body of Sin and Death, having lost that supernatural Power, which could alone have enabled them to subdue them. Hence not being rais'd above this World to a Celestial State, they are expos'd to the Calamities of the World, and to the Power of the Prince of this World: And their wanting the super-natural Principle for subduing their Passions, exposes them to the Sufferings of this World, which are the natural Consequences of unsubdu'd Passions. In another World, their undisciplin'd Appetites will be fix'd, and yet no Possibility of satisfying them: They'll become indispos'd for heavenly Pleasures and Conversation with good Spirits; and have a Congruity of Inclination with cursed Spirits, which must give them a more absolute Power over such Souls, during the Time of their Existence, tho' it should not prove Eternal.

6. FOR, a farther Unhappiness ensues to Mankind by our Fall, and that is, being under the Power of the Devil.

THE Devil by his Sin fell from a State of Happiness; from Heaven, which was *p. 3.* his *ἴδιον οἰκητήριον*, the Place proper for his
Spiritual

P. 30.

Spiritual Nature ; yet his final Misery is not yet undergone by him and his Associates, but the everlasting Fire is reserv'd for them. The Devils in him that was possess'd with the Legion, tell Christ of tormenting them *before their Time*, Matt. viii. 29. and *Luk. viii. 31.* desire they may not be sent into the *Abyss* immediately ; which is the same, which not only by the Poets, but also St. Peter is call'd *Tartarus*, 2 *Pet. ii. 4.* And in other Places *σκότος ἑξώτερον*, outer Darkness ; which is reserv'd for them against the Judgment of the great Day, *Jude 6.* They are, indeed, at present in *Chains* of Darkness, to be afterwards punish'd in that outer Darkness design'd for them at the Day of Judgment, the Time appointed for it. *Chains* supposes these Beings to have a Heavenly and Divine Ingredient in their natural Constitution, which would have enabled them to aspire to the Heavenly Regions of Light, had they not been thus confin'd ; and *Chains of Darkness*, to let us know, that it was to the Darkness of those *sublunary* Regions, in Opposition to the Light of those that are *Celestial*.

IN the mean while, the *Devil* is the *Enemy* of Mankind, tho' in *Chains*, who *Pr. p. 41.* makes it his grand Business to make all humane Souls liable to those Punishments, which are prepar'd for himself ; and hence in the *New Testament* is proclaim'd the
Publick

Publick Enemy of all Mankind, and the *Head* of all Rebellion. In the *Old Testament* he is represented as envious of the Prosperity of Mankind, an Accuser, and a Suggester of pernicious Counsels; but without Mention of any Design farther than Externals. He robbed *Adam* of the Felicities of the visible Paradise; tempts *Job* to Impatience by temporal Calamities; brought a Plague on the *Israelites*, by tempting *David* to number them; drew *Ahab* into a War with the *Syrians*, by becoming a *Lying Spirit* in the Mouth of his Prophets; oppos'd the High-Priesthood of *Joshua* (*Zech. iii.*) by performing his Office of a Slanderer and false Accuser.

IN the *New Testament*, as the Devil's Malice and Enmity against Mankind is after declar'd, so also the Power that they have; as where they are call'd (as *Eph. vi. 12.*) ἀρχαί, ἐξουσίαι, κοσμοκράτορες τῆς σκότης τῆς αἰῶνος τούτης, and *Job. xii. 31. xvi. 11.* call'd the Prince of this World. Mankind by the Fall became under the Dominion of *Satan*, so as to be led captive.

MADE subject to him, who has κράτος *P. 253.* the Power of Death, that is, the Devil. He is the Prince of the World, as he is the Prince of the Darkness thereof, the Region of Mortality, the invisible State, which is signify'd by the Word *Hades*. Thus all Mankind were made obnoxious to that Government, which was allow'd the

the Devil by God Himself; but no farther than God had been pleas'd to allow it him, and with those Restrictions which God had reserv'd for the Good of them whom He took into His own Protection, and the Guard of good Angels, who are ministering Spirits under Him for the Good of the Heirs of Salvation.

7. ΤΗΟ' by the Loss of the Πνεῦμα, the Spirit, Mankind lost that which would have made them actually immortal, yet the Πνοή was still retain'd, by virtue of which the Souls of Men continue at the Dissolution of Soul and Body: So that, as at Death, the Spirit of Brutes, who want the *Pnoë*, go downwards, fall to the Earth, that is, perish; so the *Spirits* of Men return to the *Lord* that made them. It is this *Pnoë*, this Breathing of God, and not any Animal Operation common to humane Souls with those of Beasts, (not even their *Reasoning* about sensible Things) that entitles humane Souls to live after their Bodies. This supposes the Soul not to depend on the Body, as that of Brutes doth, and to perish with it; but to be a *Flatus*, a Breathing of God, and to continue so long as God is pleas'd to continue His Breathing, and will then cease to be, whenever God ceases to breathe; which Mr. Dodwell supposes will not be before the general Resurrection, and possibly the great Conflagration. This qualify'd Man

to

to receive the Πνεῦμα, which would have immortaliz'd him, but cannot itself make Man immortal.

8. At Death the Souls of Men go into *Hades*, the common Receptacle of humane Souls, of which there is the *superiour* Region, into which good Souls go, and the *inferiour* allotted to the worst of Spirits, till the Day of Judgment. Both styl'd *Hades* in the Holy Scriptures, as well as in other Writers; that they assign'd the Heavens (which had no Returns nor Mix-
P. 250.
 ture of Darkness) to the pure Spirits, who had no Contagion of material Affections; and the subterraneous Regions, where there was no Access of Light to the worst of Spirits; and the middle Space to suitable Inhabitants of both Sorts. Yet these, tho' both in the same Space, were suppos'd to have different Residences, so as to have no Communion with each other; which is imply'd in the great *Gulph* fix'd between them in the Parable of the rich Man and *Lazarus*. Both these are call'd *Hades*, and yet even the *Apostles* themselves, the Foundations of the Church next to Christ, are suppos'd by the Apostolical *Hermas*, to go to *Hades*: That the *Martyrs*, the highest Rank of the Blessed, are plac'd by St. *John*, Rev. vi. 9. ὑποκάτω *under the Altar*. This Altar is the Archetypal Altar in Heaven, and therefore the Martyrs cannot be thought to be
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in it, in Heaven, when said to be under it: That they were to expect an Accession of Happiness at the Day of Judgment; that good Souls were accessible in that State by the Devil, at least so far as in the Case of *Samuel*, who seems forc'd to appear to *Saul* by the Adjurations of the Witch of *Endor*.

P. 255.

257.

THIS is the Reason of the Prayers in ancient Liturgies, produc'd by Primate *Usher*, wherein are Prayers for Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, and even the Blessed Virgin herself: Not only as owning them as one Body with the militant Church on Earth, but as believing them to need their Prayers, whilst they were in those separate Mansions accessible by the Devil. But withall, that they were in a State of Happiness, and with *Christ*, not only as they are one Body and one Spirit with Him, (for so they are also in this World;) but as they are in the *superiour* Sublunary Region of the Air, the *καθαέρη* *φῶς* desir'd by *Ignatius* in his Epistle to the *Romans*, the *Æther*.

266.

THAT what was the Case of *Samuel* and the old Prophets to the Particular of the Devil's Power over them in a State of Separation, yet there is Reason to believe, that their Case is better under the Gospel. *Luk. x. 18. Rev. xii. 8, 9.*

I P. D.

P. 148.

THE *Wicked* shall continue in a State of Punishment in *Hades*, until the general Conflagration, even such as never heard of the Gospel.

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THE Use of *Hades* is to receive Souls when they are in a separate State, after the Dissolution of Soul and Body. This therefore would be useless, if the Soul died with the Body, as Dr. *Coward* and Mr. *Layton* imagine

It was a generally received Tradition *P. 145.* (of which no Original is known, and therefore, probably, from those Divine Revelations, which were believed familiar in the first Ages of Mankind) that Souls survived their Bodies in *Vehicles*, on which they depended; which, as they were more subtile than their grosser organized Bodies, so were thought to continue long after the Dissolution of their Bodies, and to continue the Existence of the Souls that depend on them. These Vehicles are call'd *Umbrae*, εἰδωλα θανόντων. The Primitive Christians believed separate Souls to have visible Bodies of the same Shape with those wherein themselves lived formerly. Yet they believed those Bodies mortal, as being capable of sensible Pain by the corporeal Fire of Hell.

9. AFTER *Adam's* Fall, as Mankind became miserable by the Loss of God's Spirit, and the many ill Consequents that ensued thereon, before mentioned §. 5, 6. so that as there could be no Claim from humane *Nature* in general, that could *162.* entitle all Mankind to this supernatural Principle of the Spirit; so neither was
P p there

there any *Promise* or Divine Revelations, that God would give that to all Men, which none could challenge on any other Title. No Covenant after *Adam* with Mankind in general, that every individual should have it restored to them, since they had lost their Claim by their Covenant with *Adam*.

10. THE Second Person of the *Trinity*, ὁ λόγος, undertook to be our Saviour and Redeemer, and to that End assumed our Nature, not only to make a Propitiation for our Sins, but also that he might procure the *Holy Spirit* for us, and bestow it upon his *Peculium*, by which they might recover that Happiness, and those Privileges which they lost by *Adam's* Fall.

P. 227. 11. CHRIST, in order to the procuring those signal Benefits, in assuming our Nature, was *conceived* by the *Holy Ghost*. It was the Third Person of the Sacred Trinity, which over-shadowed the Blessed Virgin, by which she became Χαριτομένη, Graced; when He who is Χάρις, and the Original of all Graces (both Χάριτες, and Χαρίσματα) that are bestowed upon Mankind, over-shadowed her. This is the *Unction* by which He became the *Messiah*, the Christ, or Anointed. The Divine Nature was not capable of any farther Sanctification. Therefore this only concerns his Humane Nature, which is anointed

nointed with the Oil of Gladness above his Fellows.

It is this, in which it hath pleased the Father, that *all Fulness should dwell*. In this the *Fulness of the Godhead* is said to dwell bodily, i. e. the Divine Spirit dwelt, not only in visible Symbols, as the *Shechinahs*, which over-shadowed the Mercy-Seat, the Clouds of the Temple in the time of the Law, but as the true Original; *Body* being opposed to *Shadows*, and sensible Representations. What is spoken, *Luk. i. 35.* of the Holy Ghost *over-shadowing* the Blessed Virgin, and that what was to be born of her should be called *the Son of God*, cannot be understood of Christ's eternal Filiation, but of the *Man* Christ Jesus, whereby He is in another Sense the Son of God, and *the First-born among many Brethren*, that is; among many other Men, who could not otherwise be called his Brethren. This makes all that partake of the Spirit of Christ to have One God with Him, and makes *his* Father to be *our* Father also; It being hence call'd *his* *Pr. 48.* *Seed*, *1 Pet. i. 23.* and said *ἐκπορεύεσθαι*, to *E. D.* go out from him, *Joh. xv. 26.* This be- *P. 230.* ing the Spirit of Adoption, by which we cry, *Abba, Father*, the *Humane* Nature of Christ, deriving its Extraction from the same Spirit, could therefore give the Divine Person, on that Account, no higher a Relation to the Members of the *Peculium*, than that of a *Brother*.

12. As Christ purchas'd the Holy Spirit, ascended on High, and is invested with Power to bestow it ; so it is Christ's Work to restore Mankind to their Primitive Dignity, by restoring this Spirit, the Divine Principle which they had lost. This is the Purchase of the λόγος, the αὐτοάνθρωπος, that what we lost by the *First Adam*, might be restor'd by this *Second Adam*, the Man from Heaven, 1 Cor. xv. Who, as He gave the Spirit to *Adam* himself, so could alone renew it to his Posterity. So that from hence, the Spirit is the same with *Christ*, and the Lord from Heaven, in the Reasoning of St. Paul. Their Names are us'd promiscuously. The Word of God, that is in us, 1 Joh. i. 10. which abides in us, 1 Joh. ii. 14. Christ in us, the Hope of Glory, Col. i. 17. Tho' the Spirit be the Purchase of *Christ*, yet withall, it is the Gift of the *Father*, Joh. v. 26, 27. The Spirit is in the Father in Regard of the Son, and in the Son in Relation to us.

13. AMONG other *Privileges* we thence enjoy, is *Immortality*, that as in *Adam* all die, so in Christ the second *Adam*, all must derive their Title to Life, that is, the Life which is oppos'd to *Death*, which was derived from the earthly *Adam*. From the earthly *Adam* we have nothing but what is essential to our Constitution, and that is ψυχὴ ζωσα ; but from Christ, the

πνεῦμα

πνεῦμα ζωοποιόν. This latter is only derivable from Christ, it being the Image of Christ, the second *Adam*, the Lord from Heaven; as the ψυχή is the Image of the earthly *Adam*, from whom we receive whatever is properly our humane Nature. It is not from the *first Adam*, but from the *second Adam*, that we derive our Immortality.

THE *immortal Nature* is the quickening *Divine Spirit*, which is united to Holy Souls of the *Peculium*, as an Ingredient of their Nature. This Spirit alone qualifies us for ascending into *Heaven*, which the Scripture represents as the peculiar *Residence* of the *Father*, whither *Christ* is ascended, where he transacts his Office as *Mediator*, at the finishing of which, he brings his many Sons into Glory.

THIS Immortality is natural to the *Divine Spirit*, who is GOD in such a Sense as cannot agree to any created Being. This Spirit immortalizes such as are advanced to a close indissoluble Union with it. The Spirit that immortalizes must be derived from Christ himself. That must be by being united to Christ. Our Union with Christ must be by being united with his *mystical Body* the Church, and thereby with Christ himself who is the *Head* of that Body.

THIS Union must be by *Baptism*, which is settled by Divine Establishment for that End, which will be cleared by considering

these Things more particularly in what follows.

14. OUR Blessed Saviour by His Undertakings became the Lord of the World, advanc'd above all Principalities and Powers, and by His Apostles commanded all the World to become His Subjects, and to be admitted as such by Baptism; and to those, who thereby become His *Peculium*, and persist in their Allegiance, He promises eternal Life, and to others that refuse this Subjection, He threatens eternal Misery. Those that were baptiz'd, did (according to the Form of their Stipulation) συντάσσεσθαι Θεῷ, vow Subjection to Christ's Banner, and did ἀντιτάσσεσθαι τῷ Σατανᾷ, profess an irreconcilable Enmity to the Devil.

THEN the Devil became the declar'd Enemy of God and Man, and those who then joined with him were of his Party, and liable to the Punishments prepar'd for him. This was one of the Revelations of the *New Testament*, that the Prince of this World should be judged, *Joh. xvi. 14.*
P. 267. That Fallen Angels are kept in Chains of Darkness unto the Judgment of the great Day, *Jude 6.* There being no direct Mention of the Fall of Angels in the *Old Testament*, tho' there are some Allusions to it. But as we are told this in the *New Testament*, so therein is the Devil declar'd the Head of a Party, and was proclaim'd

a *Publick Enemy*, when Christ sent forth His Apostles to preach the Gospel, commanding all Mankind to become His Subjects, obliging them to join in the War against the Devil, and to forbear thenceforwards all Communication with him, under Pain of sharing in his Punishments. Under the Gospel Christ set up his Standard, and by His Apostles summons, like the *Arrier Bands*, every individual Subject to repair thereto, and threatening to treat them as Enemies, who countenance this *hostile Body*, against which the War is proclaim'd; and leaves no Place for Neutrality. Hence in the *New Testament* our Christian Profession is call'd a *στρατεία*, a Warfare, and the *Shield of Faith* is that by which we quench the fiery Darts of the evil One. As those that overcome in that Warfare, shall be crown'd with eternal Happiness; so they, that will not list themselves in their Prince's Service, and hence are look'd upon as of the Devil's Party, as also such as are Deserters, are liable to that *Tartarean Fire*, which is prepar'd for the Devil. As likewise those who heard the Gospel from St. *John the Baptist*, or our *Saviour* Himself in Person, before all Nations were concern'd in it, were oblig'd to receive it, under the Penalty of enduring the Fire prepar'd for the Devil and his Angels, *Mar. ix. 43, 45.* And the *ὀργή μέλλουσα*, the Wrath to come, threaten'd

threaten'd to the Disobedient by St. *John the Baptist*, *Matth. iii. 11.*

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IT was one great End of Christ's coming into the World to destroy the Works of the Devil. That Oracle of *Virgil*, *Occidet ut serpens*, is therefore by *Constantine* apply'd to our Saviour; and He Himself testify'd the Diminution of the Devil's Power upon His Appearance (however of His Victory gain'd on the Cross) *Joh. xii. 31.* Now is the Judgment of this World; now shall the Prince of this World be cast out. And our Saviour Himself mentions from whence he was cast out, *I beheld Satan as Lightning fall from Heaven*, *Luk. x. 18.* And this is represented (*Rev. xii. 8, 9.*) in the Event of the War betwixt *Michael* and his Angels, and the *Dragon* and his Angels, viz. The Expulsion of the Devil out of Heaven. He was cast out into the Earth, and his Angels were cast out with him.

TILL that Time the Devil was a Subject, and enjoy'd a subordinate Power under His Creator; whatever Jurisdiction he had, must be by God's Permission. Therefore Communication with him before could be no otherwise culpable, than as it is accounted with ill affected Subjects, before their Hostilities are notorious in themselves, or notify'd by Publick Proclamations. Then, and not till then, Joining with them becomes criminal, and renders the Persons joining with them guilty of

of the same Rebellion, and liable to the same Punishment with the principal Rebels.

THIS Proclamation of the Devil as a *Pr. p. 28.* Publick Enemy, is peculiarly the Office of the Gospel; especially as relating to the Affairs of Souls.

15. THE Means and Conditions prescribed and appointed by God, whereby we may participate of the Holy Spirit, and other Benefits purchas'd by our Blessed Saviour, are *believing*, and being *baptiz'd*, *P. 168.*

Mar. xvi. 16. He that believeth, and is baptiz'd shall be sav'd, and he who believeth not shall be damn'd. The Just himself cannot expect to live this immortal Life by his *Justice*, that is, by his real observing the *Old Law*, but by his *Faith* prescribed by the *New*. In order to this, it is requisite, he should *hear* the Gospel, in that as the Apostle argues, *Faith comes by Hearing*, *Rom. x. 16, 17.* which he gather'd from *Isa. liii. 1.* where the Word we translate *Report*, is in the Greek ἀκούω, *Hearing*. Thence the ἀκούω πιστεύω, *Gal. v. 5.* Such as have heard the Gospel, and did not embrace it, are in Scripture made the greatest Criminals, *2 Pet. ii. 21.* *Capernaum* is pronounc'd by Christ worse than *Tyre* and *Sidon*, *Matth. ii. 21.* This brought the *Capernautes* to Hell, which the other had not that Reason to fear, who wanted the Advantages

vantages which the *Capernaïtes* enjoy'd, Unbelievers, ἀπειθεῖντες, are threaten'd with *Hell*, Mar. xvi. 16. *Joh.* iii. 15, 36.

P. 184. 16. ANOTHER Condition requir'd by God to qualify us for the Benefits of Christianity, is *Repentance*. And this, for those who had been guilty of Idolatry, and worshipping of Devils, an actual and explicit Repentance of this their Idolatry: Their Communion with the Devil made them Members of that Body of which the Devil was the Head, which their Baptismal Profession oblig'd them expressly to renounce, before they could be receiv'd into that Mystical Body of which our Saviour is the Head; as is evident from the ancient Interrogation of ἀποτάσσει τῷ σατανᾷ; Dost thou renounce the Devil? And the Answer was ἀποτάσσομαι, I renounce; a Form still retain'd in our Church in the Office of Baptism. This brings me to the next.

P. 163. 17. BESIDES Faith and Repentance, Christ hath appointed *Baptism* as a Means by which the Holy Spirit is convey'd to us. This is the ordinary Way that is settled by Divine Establishment, and that for ever, for our receiving the *Divine Life*; and therefore, there is no Reason why any now should expect it, who use not this which is the ordinary visible Means appointed by God for this End:
No

No more than *Naaman* could expect the Cure of his Leprosy from any other Waters besides those of *Jordan*, after God had confin'd His Favour to that particular River. We cannot partake of the Benefits purchas'd by Christ, but by being united to Him, and that is, by becoming visible Members of His Mystical Body the Church. Baptism is the *Laver of Regeneration*, and *renewing of the Holy Ghost*, whereby we are *born again*, not of *Water* only, but also of the *Spirit*; wherein we are born not of *Blood*, nor of the *Will of Men*, but of *God*; wherein we receive Power to be call'd the *Sons of God*; wherein we have that *Spirit renew'd* in us, which we lost in *Adam*; which is the new (*κτίσις*) Creature, restoring the old *κτίσις* with which *Adam* was created. The Spirit is the Spirit of Christ, and is given by Him alone in Baptism. By our Fall in *Adam* ensu'd a *Darkness* in our Understandings, when the *Divine Spirit* was lost, which is call'd the *Light*. This is restor'd in Baptism, and from this *Restitution* Baptism is call'd *Φωτισμός*, *Illumination*. And as it gives us a *Right* to an immortal Happiness in *Heaven*, which is call'd the *Inheritance* incorruptible of the *Saints* in *Light*. Baptism admits us into one Body with Christ, which Body is His Church. This therefore alone entitles us to be in Christ. Such are said to be in Him, as *Members* of His Mystical Body, as *Branches* in Him

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the Mystical Vine ; and principally as being *one Spirit* with Him : The Persons so spiritually united to Him are said to be *in* the Spirit, and *in* the Λόγος, as well as the Λόγος to be *in* them.

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18. THE Scripture, as was said before, supposes the Power of giving the Quickening Spirit to be in the *Father* in regard of the *Son*, and in the *Son* in relation to us. The Son Himself, as Man, can lay no Claim to the Spirit, but in Conjunction with the Father, from whom He is immediately to receive it, as from the first Principle of the Spirit, nor can the Soul of Man receive it, but by its Conjunction with the Son ; from whom all, who will entitle themselves to it by the Rules of the new *Peculium*, must immediately receive it. Tho' all derive the Spirit from the Son, yet all shall not have it from Him *immediately*, but receive it from some *one* Principal Person, who was design'd by God as the Principle of their Unity, upon whom He intended they should depend, if they would entitle themselves to the same Spirit. So St. *John* (1 *Joh.* i. 3.) urges his own Communion, as the Means by which all were to expect Communion with the Father and the Son. And supposes all who were out of that Communion to be in Darkness, Death, and Error ; the Contraries of the true Communion, of Light, and Life, and Truth. It will be as impossible for any
Member

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Member of the Spiritual Body to have the *Spirit*, when separated from the *Head*; as it is for any Animal Member to retain any Remainder of the Animal Life, when separated from the Animal Head. God alone convey'd the Spirit to the Son: The Son alone gave it to the Apostles: This is made the Standard of all other Offices. Thenceforward the ordinary Way of receiving the Spirit was from the *Apostles*, and not otherwise to be receiv'd from them but by the Imposition of their Hands. After their Decease, none but the *Bishops* succeeded the Apostles in that High Privilege of giving the Spirit by the Imposition of their Hands. This was then given *Pr. p. 18;* by the *Bishops* only, as the Successors of 50, 51. the Apostles, as the Spirit was given by none but the *Apostles* whilst they liv'd. This was call'd *σφραγίς*, the *Seal*, by the Ancients, which denotes the *Baptismal Spirit*, the true *φῶς*, from whence our Saviour's Baptism came to be entitled to the Name of *Φωτισμός*. Among the Principles of the Doctrine of Christ, the Apostle (*Hebr. vi. 1.*) reckons *Baptisms* in the plural Number, meaning the Baptism of *Water* as distinct from that of the *Spirit*. This higher Baptism had, in the first *E. D. p. 289.* Monuments of the Church, another Symbol, by which the Spirit was signify'd and conferr'd, that of *Oil*. And in that Regard it is reckon'd as a distinct Sacrament from the *Water-Baptism* by St. Cyprian, when

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when he would have Hereticks and Schismatics to be receiv'd *utroque Sacramento*: Meaning the Way of conveying the Spirit by Imposition of Hands, as well as the Baptism of Water. Yet both of them may be contain'd under the one common Name of Baptism, as it was the Right of our Saviour's Baptism, exceeding all other Baptisms then known of, to convey the Spirit; and as our new Sacramental Regeneration under the Gospel is not only of Water, but of the Spirit. It is clear from the Monuments of the first Ages, that the Right of conferring the Spirit was originally in *Bishops*, and none but Bishops: And that the Right of *Presbyters* is no more than what they can derive from the *Concession* of Bishops, in whom it was originally. This obliges all who will pretend to the Spirit, to a strict Dependence on them; and is alone sufficient (by the Reasonings of the best and purest Ages) to oblige all to depend on the Bishops, who desire a solid Title to the Good and Divine Spirit. But that cannot be a good Spirit, which encourages Divisions, or which weakens the Obligations to Unity thus settled by God; which makes the Graces of the Sacraments easily and frequently attainable without the Sacraments; which makes them attainable in different and contradictory Communions; which makes them attainable at Altars separate, not only from the
true

true Bishop, but from Episcopacy itself, which allows such Perfection in this Life, as perfectly to supersede the Use of Sacraments to entitle to the Heavenly Communion immediately, without any external Communion here on Earth.

19. THE *Jews* before Christ's Time P. 8.
are not to be excluded from the Rewards purchas'd by Christ. He, as the *Λόγος*, was their Governor then, their Government being a *Theocracy*. The Father was not then suppos'd to govern them, but to have committed all Government to the Son, *Joh. v. 22*. All the Appearances of the Deity in the *Old Testament* are therefore in the *New Testament* suppos'd to have been of the *Λόγος*. Accordingly, they who tempted God in the Wilderness are said to have tempted Christ, *1 Cor. x. 9*. And elsewhere to grieve His Holy Spirit. He is said to be afflicted in all their Affli-¹⁶⁷ctions, on Account of His Sympathy resulting from His Matrimonial Unity with them. For the *Λόγος*, not the Father, was suppos'd to have the *Shechinah*, which made Him capable of conversing with Mankind. Thus their Rebellion against the *Theocracy*, under which they then liv'd, may make them responsible to our Blessed Lord, as committed against His Person, who was the *Angel* of the Covenant, and the *Legislator* of the Decalogue, and of their other Laws.

YET

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YET this alone was not thought sufficient for attaining the Spirit. It was to be attain'd by the old Dispensation no otherwise, than as the observing of it entitl'd to the Benefits of the new, among which this of the Spirit was the Principal. They who liv'd before the Gospel were entitl'd to the Spirit in Reversion, and thence to the Consequences of it in being immortaliz'd. Before the Revelation of the Gospel the actual Immortality of the Soul was not fully discover'd. Had it been, the Doctrine of the *Sadducees* would have been condemn'd by some publick Sentence of the *Jewish* Church: And this it would have been, had it been really, or at least in the Opinion of the *Jewish Sanhedrin*, inconsistent with any Divine Revelation of the *Old Testament*. They were not so assur'd as we are, that the Texts we now produce from thence to prove the Immortality of the Soul, were so intended by the Holy Ghost. But the Privileges of that *Peculium* seem to relate to the Favours of *this Life*; as their Secular Government was a *Theocracy*, and as they might hope to over-rule the Interests of other Nations by having a more powerful *Numen*. Their Plea therefore to the Spirit on this Account was no other than as the Spirit was the ordinary Administrator under the Supreme Being; and, consequently, none could lay any Claim to the Spirit, than

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as they were concern'd in the *Administration* of the Civil Government. So their *Princes* were, so their *Priests*, and *Prophets* in reference to temporal Affairs. If they ever meddled with any Thing relating to a Future Life, it was only occasionally. These Claims were grounded more on the Offices, than the Vertues of Persons that then receiv'd the Spirit. But the Spirit that immortalizes must not be confin'd to Offices, but be common to all the Members of the *Peculium*. All there-
P. 166.
fore that could then be done, was to qualify themselves for receiving the Spirit, when the appointed Season should come for the giving of the Spirit. They had one Qualification, that is, their being born of the *Patriarchal Seed*, and descended from such Ancestors, with whom God had enter'd into Covenants for themselves, and for their Posterity. As they were of the *Patriarchal Seed*, they were incorporated into that *Body*, of which our *Lord* Himself was the *Head*, and consequently were entitl'd to all the Purchases of His Blood, tho' themselves then did not know it, the Principal of which was the *Holy Spirit*. Mr. *Dodwell* thought it probable, and propounded it only as such, that the *Rebels* amongst these were immortaliz'd to eternal Punishments, as their Rebellion was against the *Theocracy*, in which the *Λόγος* was the Governor, and hence these Rebels were responsible to Him who was

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their *Legislator*, and shall be their *Judge*; of which before. But for others that dy'd in *Faith*, they receiv'd not the *Promise*, *Hebr. xi. 39.* The *Promise* meant here is *Heaven*, the *New Jerusalem* from above, which these had not attained to; and the *Spirit* also is a *Promise*, the *Promise* of the *Father*, *Luk. xxiv. 49. Act. i. 4. and ii. 33.* without which the other *Mystical Promise* of *Heaven* could not be perform'd to them, this being a necessary *Qualification* for *Heaven* itself. This *Spirit* of *Promise* is the *Earnest* of our *Inheritance*, *Eph. i. 13.* And the *Earnest* must go before the *Inheritance*.

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20. BUT the Case was quite different with other Nations. As there was not so much *expected* from them, so neither had they any *Right* from any *Promises*, or *Covenants*, after *Adam*, made to Mankind, that every Individual should have the *Spirit* restored to them. Before *Gospel-times*, other Nations, besides the *Jews*, were not of *Christ's Body*, and therefore could not be in him, being not of his *Church*. God is said, *Acts xvii. 30. and xiv. 16.* concerning such, ὑπερίδεν and ἑᾶσαι, to *overlook* them in the *Times* of their *Ignorance*, whilst He was (*ἄγνωστος*) *unknown* to them, and they wanted the *Revelations*, which the *Jews* formerly, and at that time other Nations, enjoyed by the *Ministry* of the *Apostles*: But (ὅν) from

from that time forwards such would be
inexcusable. Before that, the utmost Ex-^{P. 116.}
tent of the mystical Body of Christ (as
described in the *New Testament*) reach-
ed no farther than the Patriarchs and Pro-
phets of the *Old Testament*, especially
those Patriarchs with whom GOD was
pleased to make the Patriarchal Covenant
for themselves and their Patriarchal Seed.
Such were *Abraham, Isaac and Jacob*,
and some few before them in an ascend-
ing Line. These Covenants were limit-
ed to the Descendents of those Patriarchs,
in Opposition to all other coæval Patri-
archal Heads of other Nations; GOD
telling them, that *he had not dealt so with
any other Nation*. From the time there-
fore of the Choice of the *Old Peculium*,
to the breaking down of the *Partition-
Wall*, the Partition must have continued,
which made all Nations, besides the *Jews*,
a separate Body from that which our Bles-
sed Lord was pleased to take for his own
mystical Body. So long therefore they
could not be Members of his Body, nor
consequently in him, whilst they were
not in his Church: And not being in
him, they could not be made *alive*, but
must still remain in the *Old Adam*, in
whom they were all to die; nor could
have any Pretensions to the *Spirit*, which
the Apostle admits as the only Principle
of Immortality. They were still in the ^{118.}
Old Olive, and therefore could not par-
take

take of the Sap and Fatness of the good Olive, before their (ἐγγεντισμός) Inoculation into it. So long the Gentiles were, by the Apostle of the Gentiles, reckoned as, in the Old Adam, and bearing his Image, and liable to that actual Mortality which he owns as the necessary Consequence of their being so. Nor had they hitherto any Warning of their being praternaturally oblig'd to Punishment, mention'd by St. Paul, Act. xvii. which might put them in fear of being concern'd in the great Day of Judgment, on Account of God's having recall'd the Permission formerly indulg'd to them of walking in their own Ways. But on the Promulgation of the Gospel, they would be inexcusable if they did not embrace it. All Nations were now qualify'd to be receiv'd into the *New Peculium*, without any Obligation to incorporate themselves into any one particular Nation (*viz.* that of the *Jews* formerly GOD's *Peculium*) as they were oblig'd to do before; which it is the Design of the Apostle to prove in many of his Epistles. Neither is here any Reason from hence to question the *Justice* of God, in respect to His rewarding and punishing such as those who never heard of the Gospel, who are suppos'd to be *annihilated* at the Day of Judgment. For they have the Rewards and Punishments of this Life, which were requisite for the good Government of Mankind in this World: And also have

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1 P. D.
P. 127.

have their Rewards and Punishments in *Hades*, from the Time of their Death till the Resurrection, so far as is requisite for equalling the Accounts of calamitous Virtue, and prosperous Vice. And as for such *Heathens* who shall be alive at the Day of Judgment, God's Justice may be acquitted, (1st) by considering their End, (which is adequate both to the Reasonings of God in the Holy Scriptures, and also of wise *Heathens*) if prosperous, this is a sufficient Amends for a calamitous Life: If an ill End, for prosperous Impieties. A shorter Enjoyment or Suffering in the End may be taken for an Equivalent for more lasting ones before, if they supply, in their Degree, what they want in their Duration. If therefore there be so great Inequality between the Pleasures and the Pains of this Life, that the Intensity of the one, tho' of a shorter Time, may more than make amends for a whole Life's Duration of the other; this may (2^{dly}) be yet more presum'd of the Pleasures and Pains of the separate State. The Understandings may then give so clear Apprehensions of the Amiability of Good, and the Turpitude of vicious Courses, as never could be expected under the Diversions and Relishes of a sensual Life; when there are neither Objects nor Organs to divert them. Conscience alone under such clear Conviction, may more contribute to the Grief or Delight of naked Souls, than the

most exquisite Impressions of our Fleshly Organs.

P. 169.

21. SEEING therefore that Faith, Repentance, and Baptism are necessary by the Terms of the Gospel to partake of the Benefits of the *New Peculium*, which they before Christ were incapable of performing, it was the Belief of the Ancients, that our Saviour descended into *Hades*, the common Receptacle of Souls, that He might there preach the Gospel to them who never heard it here on Earth, to qualify them for their final Sentence. The Footsteps of which Opinion are so unanimous near the Apostolical Original, agreeable to the Reasonings and Principles of the Apostolical Age, and not contradicted by the Monuments of that Time, that it is hard to conceive how they could have any other Original than Apostolical. Such is that of St. Peter, 1 Pet. iii. 18, 19, 20. Christ hath once suffer'd ---- *being put to Death in the Flesh, but quicken'd by the Spirit; by which also He went and preach'd to the Spirits in Prison; which were sometimes disobedient, when once the Long-Suffering of God waited in the Days of Noah.* This Spirit cannot be the Spirit of Christ in Noah, but of Christ Himself, who is said to be the Preacher; the same Spirit wherein He liv'd at the same time wherein He was alive, and at the same time wherein He was

was put to Death in the Flesh. That Spirit, which upon their Belief of His Preaching, was to be given them. The Preaching was, when He was put to Death in the Flesh, that is, the Space between His Death and His Resurrection: The Persons preach'd to, were Persons who had been formerly disobedient. The Preaching is distinguish'd from that of Noah: Then there was a Long-Suffering, a Respite of 120 Years granted; here none, but their immediate final Answer. Again, 1 Pet. iv. 6. *For this Cause was the Gospel preach'd also to them that are dead, that they might be judg'd according to Men in the Flesh, but live according to God in the Spirit.*

S. Justin Martyr in his Dialogue with P. 174. Tryphon (cited likewise by Irenæus) quotes a Passage ascrib'd either to Jeremiah or Isaiah, which S. Justin charges the Jews with cutting out of Jeremiah. Εμνήσθη δὲ κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν νεκρῶν αὐτῆς τῶν κεκοιμημένων εἰς γῆν χόματος, καὶ κατέβη πρὸς αὐτὰς εὐαγγελισσάσθαι αὐτοῖς τὸ σωτήριον αὐτῆς. *The Lord remember'd His Dead that slept in their Graves, and went down to them to preach to them the glad Tidings of His Salvation.* The Descent of Christ would not have been mention'd in ancient Creeds, unless the Churches that inserted it, had thought it of more Consequence and Authority than private Opinions. In the *Te Deum* retain'd in our Church, this favours

it; *When thou hadst overcome the Sharpness of Death, thou didst open the Kingdom of Heaven to all Believers.* After His Death, betwixt that and His Resurrection, he open'd the Kingdom of Heaven to such as believ'd. When He was in *Hades*, He open'd the Kingdom of Heaven to them, who, being then in *Hades*, believ'd there. They could not believe without a Preacher: He must therefore preach in *Hades*. Our Church in *Edward the Sixth's* Time was express for a *Local Descent*, and quoted for it the foremention'd Passage of *St. Peter*.

P. 178.

WHEREAS likewise Baptism, and that with Water, is requisite for obtaining the Spirit, some of the Ancients asserted this as a Reason, why separate Souls, who had no Opportunity before their Death, might not only be converted in *Hades* to a Belief of Christ, but also be baptiz'd. As the Apostolical *Hermas*, *Lib. 3. Sim. 9. n. 16.*

22. THO' it may be thought strange, that separate Souls should be capable of *Corporeal Baptism*, yet it was not so in those Ages; for as they thought Souls incapable of receiving any Impression from *Fire* without some Degree of *Corporiety*; so the same Body that qualify'd them for *Fire*, might make them capable of Lustrations by *Water* also.

23. BUT

23. BUT seeing our Saviour's Preach- P. 193.
ing in *Hades* (the Receptacle of better
Souls) could be presum'd to be only be-
neficial to the *Jews*, who were then the
only *Peculium*; *Clemens Alexandrinus* a-
scribes the Preaching to the *Gentiles*, to
the *Apostles*, and other principal *Doctors*
under the New Dispensation. As when
Christ was on Earth, He seems to con-
fine His Ministry to the lost Sheep of
the House of *Israel*; and His first Com-
mission to His Apostles was, not to go
unto the *Gentiles*, -- *Matth. x. 16*. The
Preaching to the *Gentiles* was some Time
after the Ascension of our Saviour; at first
by *St. Peter* to *Cornelius*, and afterwards
by *St. Paul* and *Barnabas*. Thencefor-
ward, according to *Clement*, they were
prepar'd for performing the same Office of
Preaching to the *deceas'd Gentiles*, being
themselves deceas'd, which they had be-
fore perform'd to their living Posterity,
whilst themselves were living.

24. THESE were Doctrines that were P. D.
believ'd in the early Ages of the Church; P. 108.
which if true, then every individual Soul
may thus have the Terms of his Salvation
notify'd to him, that none may be able
to pretend invincible Ignorance: This be-
ing a Means to them who had no other
Means of obtaining the Favour which was
originally design'd for all Mankind. Yet
so

so, as that they, who *hear* of the Gospel in this Life, must not expect that Favour, but must depend on the Opportunities granted them here, as the last that must determine their eternal State. Such that have heard the Gospel, and not embrac'd it, shall be punish'd as the greatest Criminals, 2 *Thess.* i. 8. Christ will take Vengeance on them that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. Those who know the Gospel, are oblig'd to choose everlasting Rewards, under Pain, if they do otherwise, of incurring everlasting Punishment.

1 P. D.
p. 14.

Ib. p. 15.

25. CHRIST will at the Day of Judgment raise the Bodies of all such as have been baptiz'd; of the Righteous, that they may be made eternally Happy, and of the Wicked to perish eternally. Our Bodies are not, as the *Platonists* fancy'd, Prisons, and only fitted for a degenerate præter-natural Estate: But Part of ourselves, Temples of the Holy Ghost; and from thence, the Killing of a Man was esteem'd Piacular. Hence, when our Blessed Lord assum'd our Nature, He assum'd a humane Body as a necessary Ingredient thereof. These are capable of being immortaliz'd, and hence capable of Heaven the proper Seat of Immortality.

Ib. p. 121.

The

The Glory of Christ's Body at His Transfiguration is a Pattern what our Bodies may expect, when they shall be made conformable to His own Glorious Body at His Resurrection. Then the Bodies of Believers, when rais'd, shall be made (πνευματικά) Spiritual, 1 Cor. xv. 44. The πνεῦμα deriv'd from Christ capacitates the Soul for the Resurrection. The 43. ψυχὴ alone, which is common to all Mankind, will not be sufficient to immortalize the Body, and to render it incorruptible. But the πνεῦμα added not only to the ψυχὴ alone, but to the σῶμα ψυχικόν, will be sufficient to change our vile Bodies, and to make them like Christ's Glorious Body; from whom all Men (who can pretend a good Title) are, by the Apostles Reasoning, to derive a Title to the Resurrection. This is *Athenagoras's* Reasoning in his Book of the Resurrection. As for those Celestial Bodies, mention'd, 1 Cor. xv. 40, 41. They are Creatures, and so only capable of a precarious Immortality. However, God may make even those Celestial Bodies useful to our sublunary Bodies, (when they are first dispos'd for it by a Freedom from earthly Passions) for fixing them in that State that shall no longer consist of Contrarieties, whose Ferment may come to a *Crisis* in a certain Period: Which when those Bodies shall have attain'd, the Divine Spirit is alone sufficient to preserve them, and that for ever,

ever, from that Dissolution of their Parts, which would make them cease, at least, to be what they are : Then *Death shall be swallow'd up in Victory* : Then *Death and Hades* shall be cast into the bottomless Pit. When the separate State shall end, as it must do when the Soul and Body shall be join'd together again, and that eternally ; then the Place of separate Souls shall have an End also. This Victory over Death being the last, and therefore immediately preceding the Triumph of our Saviour, must therefore be at the Consummation of our Saviour's Mediatorial Office, as well as of the World : When He shall have translated the Souls of His faithful Servants from the District of βασιλεία θανάτου and φθορᾶς into the true Heaven, the proper Region of Immortality. When our Bodies also shall be made *pneumatical*, fashion'd like His Glorious Body, and fitted for the Wings of His Spirit, which will then translate them to the highest Heavens, the Regions of immortal Happiness. All the Use of *Hades* is to receive Souls, when in a separate State, at the Dissolution of Soul and Body : This therefore would be useless, if the Soul dy'd with the Body, as Dr. Coward and Mr. Layton imagine.

26. As for such who have heard the Gospel in this Life, as they must depend on the Opportunities granted them here

as

as the last that must determine their eternal State ; so they must, if they have *P. 42.* not embrac'd the Gospel, be perpetuated to Punishment ; because, through their own Fault, they have not receiv'd the Baptifmal immortalizing Spirit. But which way God will perpetuate them to Punishment, depends on His Pleasure. That *146.* the Souls of wicked Christians shall be enabled to endure eternal Burnings without Dissolution, is (by the Principles mention'd § 8. of their having Bodies capable of Pain in their Separate State) to be ascrib'd to the same Almighty Power, by which the three Children were preserv'd in the fiery Furnace. This Continuance of their Being by an external Principle, is not properly call'd Life, *1 P. D. P. 104.* eternal Life in Scripture being appropriated to the Joys of Heaven, and never (as Mr. *Dodwell* remember'd) ascrib'd to the Damn'd, who are indeed said *never to die*, but not to *live for ever*. As the *1 P. D.* Devils shall at the great Day be thrown *P. 24.* into the *Abyss* (their Time being come to be tormented) into *Tartarus*, the Fire prepar'd for them : So likewise *Reprobates*, such, who joining with the Devil, *Pr. p 38, 41.* have made themselves of his Party, shall be thrown into that Fire, which was at first prepar'd for the Devil and his Angels, the *ὑποκρίτες τῆς γένεως*. Those (*ἄσεβεῖς*) ungodly Men spoken of, *2 Pet. iii. 7.* who have made themselves Partakers of the

the Devil's Punishment, by joining themselves to him in his Rebellion, shall endure the Wrath of God, which abides on the Disobedient; that Wrath, which is prepar'd for the Vessels of Wrath fitted for Destruction. Such humane Souls, who have been made *ισάγγελοι* by the Addition of the adscititious Spirit, are thereby qualify'd for the higher Degree of Punishment; and being so qualify'd, Christ judges it fit, that they should *share* with them in it, who *join'd* with them in their common Rebellion against His Authority. This is the second Death.

27. As for them who never heard the Gospel, their Case is quite different. They shall indeed be continu'd to the Day of Judgment, as is evident in the *New Testament*; where the Queen of *Sheba*, the *Ninevites*, the Inhabitants of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, &c. are mention'd as such that shall appear in Judgment to condemn the Contemners of the Gospel. But in the Description of the Judgment, *Matt. xxv.* the Rewardableness of the good Works of the Righteous is ascrib'd to their having done it *for Christ's Sake*; as the Punishableness of the Wicked to their Neglects and Affronts of *Him*, in neglecting good Offices towards *His Members*. This supposes, that the Persons thus judg'd had heard of Christ; that He had such a Body, of which these
spoken

spoken of were Members ; that He had engag'd Himself to reward Benefits conferr'd on such Members, and to punish the Neglecters thereof. Now these Things could not be known, but by Revelation ; and therefore these Forms could never affect Persons who never heard of the Revelations of the Gospel. If therefore such Persons are to be judg'd there, it must be by another Form, which cannot be known, and therefore ought not to be believ'd, till it can be prov'd from the Scripture.

THERE is in Scripture a great Difference made betwixt them who never heard E. D. p. 13. of the Gospel, and of them, who having heard it, rejected it. Such as had never Opportunities of being acquainted with the Gospel, and of the Devil being the declar'd Enemy of Mankind ; who liv'd in Times of Ignorance, which GOD wink'd at ; so likewise the Souls of Idiots, and unbaptiz'd Children, who are incapable of any Laws ; and consequently others, who have the like Peculiarity of Case pleadable for their Exemption : These shall not be adjudg'd to the final Sentences of the great Tribunal, as others shall, who are, or might have been Members of the Church's Communion : Whose Punishment shall be greater than that of the *Sodomites*, which proceeded no farther than that Generation ; but the Fire prepar'd for *Evangelical Criminals* shall be eternal.

THE

P. 148
and 152.

THE other afore-mention'd shall at the great Day of Judgment be annihilated. God then withdrawing His Breathing from them, by which afore that Time their Being was continu'd to them, and by which they were enabled to subsist in *Hades* in their Separate State.

It will not be amiss to give the Reader the Words of Mr. *Dodwell* in his second Letter to the Bishop of *Sarum* concerning this Subject, with which I shall conclude: "I never said any Thing that might encourage our *English Atheists* themselves to hope for the Benefit of actual Mortality; I never allow'd them so much as a Reprieve between their Death, and the General Resurrection; on the contrary, in my Premonition, I had produc'd the Council of *Arabia* against that very Opinion, as maintain'd by Dr. *Coward*; which notwithstanding Mr. *Chishull* has had the Confidence to produce against me, yet as Providence would have it, Dr. *Coward* himself did not believe the Charge, but has list'd himself among my publick Adversaries. The *Atheists* themselves quickly gave over their Eagerness in buying my Book, as my Bookseller himself inform'd me, when they found, upon actual Perusal of it, how little it answer'd their Expectations. The Person who occasion'd it, as soon as I knew his Name, (which Mr. *Gadderar* conceal'd from me) and could write

write to him, and send the Copy to him, own'd himself satisfy'd with what I had there said. Since that he hath seen my just Defence, and I have lately receiv'd another Letter from him, wishing that my Adversaries were satisfy'd also. He is your Countryman, and of great Repute among the Episcopals there. All my Adversaries have given me over, even Mr. *Chishull* himself has left the Loss of an imperfect Book against me, (quoted by himself) upon his Bookseller, as conscious how unable he is to make good his Charge; five of his six Heresies having never been own'd by me, nor has he produc'd any Words of mine that might imply them, and the sixth not prov'd a Heresy. Only Mr. *Norris*, who has answer'd me with a truly Genteel and Christian Temper, has had the last Word; but having own'd the Doctrine of Natural Mortality fully in his first printed Letter, he is willing however to excuse himself from owning any actual Mortality, but by such a Reasoning as would prove the World immortal, as well as humane Souls; and that same Reasoning is insisted on by the most Celebrated Adversary of the Christian Religion of his Age; I mean *Proculus*, who is solidly confuted by *John Philoponus* the Heretick, defending the Scripture Doctrine of the Creation of the World against him.

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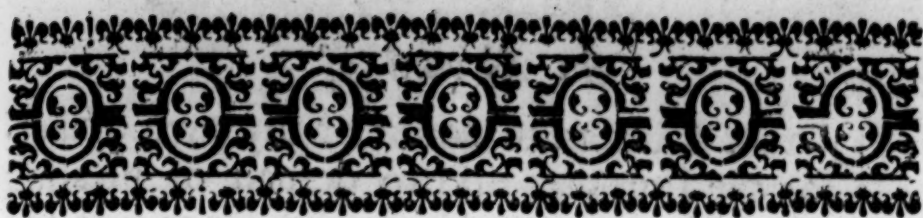
A N
A C C O U N T
O F
M^R D O D W E L L ' s Book
De Cyclis.

I N A
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A N
A C C O U N T
O F

M^R D O D W E L L ' S Book
D E C Y C L I S, &c.

S I R,



THE uninterrupted Course of Friendship which has always subsisted between us, ever since our Childhood, join'd to the good Opinion you are pleas'd to entertain of my Abilities to serve you, in giving an Abstract of that most elaborate Work of Mr. *Dodwell*, *D E C Y C L I S*, has put it out of my Power to refuse your Commands : And I readily accepted the Task you werè pleas'd to lay on me, not knowing at that Time the Greatness and Difficulty of the Work, and, indeed, not having yet seen the Book. But when I came to consider in what manner to give an *Epitome* of it, I found it to contain so great a Variety of Reading and Quotations, with References to Arguments us'd by other Authors, and by himself in former Treatises which I had never

read; that I began to doubt of my own Sufficiency for the Purpose, and to despair of pleasing either myself or you; which Diffidence was the chief Reason I was loath to begin, and could have been glad some more acquainted with Chronological Disputes might have been found, who might better answer your Purpose, and do the great Mr. Dodwell's Memory more Justice. Besides, our *Mathematical* Way of Writing is little proper for *Panegyrick*, which therefore I intreat you not to expect from me; but be pleas'd to accept of a short and plain Account of the *Greek* and *Latin Cycles*, such as Mr. Dodwell hath determin'd them. I must, however, take the Liberty in one or two Articles to dissent from him, for Reasons I shall hereafter shew.

THAT the ancient *Greeks* universally observ'd the *Luni-Solar* Year, is past all Dispute; that is, they accounted the Sun's Motion for the Measure of Years, and the Moon's for that of Months and Days. But as polite as that Nation appears to have been in remote Antiquity, it was long before they attain'd the Skill of intercalating their Account of Time with any tolerable Exactness. What they did before their Histories begin, is wholly Conjecture; but the first certain Account we have of this Matter, is, that they us'd a Cycle of *Eight Years*, which they made to contain 2922 Days in 99 Months. For, supposing the *Solar Year* $365 \frac{1}{4}$ Days, and twelve *Lunar Months* to be but 354 Days, the Excess being $11 \frac{1}{4}$ Days; they sought how many times $11 \frac{1}{4}$ Days would make up even Months, and they found 8 times $11 \frac{1}{4}$ Days

Days to be 90 Days, or three full Months; whence 'twas concluded, that eight *Solar Years* would exceed so many *Lunar* of twelve Months each by three whole Months, that is, that eight Times $365 \frac{1}{4}$ was equal to 99 Times $29 \frac{1}{2}$ Days, or 2922 Days: And that the three *Menses Embolimi*, or *Intercalary Months* might be distributed as equally as possible, they placed them in the third, fifth, and last Years of the Cycle. And because they counted the *Lunar Year* justly 354 Days, they made their Months alternately *Pleni* and *Cavi*, or to consist of 30 and 29 Days throughout, excepting that the three *Intercalary Months* were always *Pleni*: so that of the 99, whereof the Period was made up, 51 were *Pleni*, and 48 *Cavi*.

BUT it was soon remark'd, that the Time of a *Lunation* was sensibly more than $29 \frac{1}{2}$ Days, and that by about a thirty-third Part of a Day; and multiplying by 99, the Product $2923 \frac{1}{2}$ Days exceeded eight *Solar Years* by a Day and half.

TO mend this Fault of the *Oëtaëterical Cycle*, they doubled it, and made that of *sixteen Years* to consist of 5847 Days in 198 Months, whereof 105 were *Pleni*, and 93 *Cavi*; and thereby added the three Days wanting to complete the Moon's Revolution. But then by so much did they exceed that of the Sun; so that to patch it up, they were oblig'd to omit one *Intercalary Month*, in every ten Cycles of sixteen Years; whence 160 *Solar Years* were made to consist of 1049 *Menses Pleni*, and 930 *Cavi*, that is, of 58440 Days.

Now, this manner of Intercalation was found to be insufficient for the Purpose, viz. to bring the New Moons to the beginning of each Month, and yet not deviate too much from the Course of the Sun. Wherefore, about the beginning of the *Peloponnesian War*, anno ante Christum 432, *Euctemon* and *Meton*, being well skill'd in Astronomical Matters, undertook to adjust the *Attick Calendar*, so to reconcile the Motions of the Sun and Moon, that there might be as little Difference as possible from the *Solar Year*. And having observed, that in 19 Years there were contained 6940 Days in 235 *Lunations*; it was manifest that in the said Period there must be necessarily seven *Menses Embolimi*. And 235 *Menses Pleni* being 7050 Days, that is 110 Days more than so many *Lunar Months*; 'tis evident, that of the 235 Months, whereof the Cycle consisted, 110 ought to be *Cavi*, and the rest *Pleni*. And that a just ἐξαίρεσις might be made in its proper Place, they determined the Months, whether *Pleni* or *Cavi*, by the following Artifice. They supposed the whole Period to consist of 7050 Days, or 235 times 30, out of which 110 Days were to be ἐξαίρεσιμοι, that is, to be exempted out of the Calendar, as if they never had been. Wherefore, dividing 7050 by 110, the Quote 64 shews, that every 64th Day ought to be omitted in that Calendar, and that the Month wherein such Exemption fell was *Carvus*. After this manner the *Parapegma* of the *Attick Calendar* was composed, which was found to be very Satisfactory, and the New Moons fell out according to Expectation.

BUT,

BUT, in about 100 Years after, it was observed by *Calippus*, that *Meton* had taken his *Solar Year* somewhat too large, viz 365 $\frac{1}{9}$ Days instead of 365 $\frac{1}{4}$ Days, whose Difference is the seventy sixth Part of a Day: Wherefore out of each Period of 76 Years, consisting of four *Cycles* of *Meton*, he subtracted one Day; so that the Whole was made up of 27759 Days in 940 Months, whereof 28 were *Embolimi*, and of them 441 were *Cavi*, and the rest *Pleni*; and which were *Cavi* was determin'd by the Omission of the 64th Day successively from the beginning of the Period to the end, as in that of *Meton*. This Cycle we are assur'd by *Geminus* (who liv'd in the Time when it was in Civil Use, and from whom this Description of it is chiefly taken) was found to agree exceeding well with the Heaven's, and the same is testify'd by *Diodorus Siculus*, Lib. XII. who liv'd some Centuries after him.

BOTH these our Learned Author has with incredible Pains endeavour'd to illustrate, and, in order thereto, has collated all that his immense Reading could furnish him with; descending into all the Niceties of the *Intercalation*, and shewing how, by the Tables he has made, to compare the *Attick Year* with the *Julian*; and exhibiting the *Eclipses* Antiquity has transmitted to us, on their proper Days; of which it were to be wish'd we had more Examples upon Record. I make no Mention of the many Critical Notes this Work abounds with, designing to confine myself to what is purely Chronological.

HE determines therefore, (1.) That the *Athenians*, and after their Example the rest of the *Greeks*, began their Day at Sun-set, as is the Usage of the present *Italians*. (2.) That the first Cycle of *Meton* commenc'd at Sun-set at *Athens*, on the fifteenth Day of *July*, in the Year before Christ 432, it being the first after *Bissextile*; and that its first Day contain'd that Night and the whole 16th Day; the Moon changing much about Sun-set on the 15th, so that the *Epocha* of this Cycle was artfully chosen. (3.) He supposes every 63d Day to have been *exemptile*, which cannot be allow'd him, unless we understand it, that after every 63 Days the 64th was to be omitted. (4.) These *exemptile* Days he shews to have been so past over in the *Calendar*, as if they were not, where-ever they were found; and the Months wherein they fell became thereby *Cavi*. (5.) He proves, that this Regulation of the *Greek Calendar* by *Meton* was in use for the Civil Account of Time, till the Reign of *Alexander the Great*, when *Calippus* his more correct Cycle succeeded it.

Now, for the Sake of such as are curious in these Matters, it may not be amiss to lay down a compendious Rule, whereby the Dates of this Account to be met with in History, may be reduc'd to the *Julian Year* extended backwards, which may be of good Use to such as have not our Author's Tables at Hand.

THE *Attick Months* were as follows, in the following Order.

I. *Heca-*

	D.	
1 Hecatombæon	30, answering to	July.
2 Metageitnion	30,	August.
3 Boëdromion	30,	September.
4 Maimacterion	30,	October.
5 Pyanepsion	30,	November.
6 Posideon 1 ^{mus}	30,	December.
Posideon 2 ^{dus}	30	
7 Gemalion	30,	January.
8 Anthesterion	30,	February.
9 Elaphebolion	30,	March.
10 Munychion	30,	April.
11 Thargaleon	30,	May.
12 Scirophorion	30,	June.
360. 390.		

Of these the sixth Month *Posideon* was to be doubled in the seven Years, which had the *Menses Embolimi* in each Cycle: these were the third, fifth, eighth, eleventh, thirteenth, sixteenth, and nineteenth Years, which therefore consisted of 390 Days.

If therefore any Year and Day in the aforesaid *Metonick Cycle* were proposed to be reduced to the *Julian Account*; collect the Number of Months complete from the beginning of the current Period, and multiply them by 30, and to the Product add the Day of the Month current. The Sum divide by 64, and the Quotient will shew the Number of *exemptile Days* to be deducted out of the foresaid Sum. To the remainder add as many times 6940 Days, as there are

are entire Periods elapsed, and withall the constant Number 196. Thus you will have the Number of Days, from the beginning of *January* in the Year before Christ 432, which, by Help of the annexed Tablet are readily reduced to *Julian* Years and Months.

	D.	D.	Year	Days.
<i>January</i>	31	31	1	365
<i>February</i>	28	59	2	730
<i>March</i>	31	90	3	1095
<i>April</i>	30	120	4	1461
<i>May</i>	31	151	8	2922
<i>June</i>	30	181	12	4383
<i>July</i>	31	212	16	5844
<i>August</i>	31	243	20	7305
<i>September</i>	30	273	40	14610
<i>October</i>	31	304	60	21915
<i>November</i>	30	334	80	29220
<i>December</i>	31	365	100	36525

THIS, perhaps, may be better understood by an Example or two. Let it be required to find what Day of the *Julian* Year answers to the last Day of the *Attick* Month *Hecatombæon*, in the second Year of the first Period of this Cycle. Here there are only 13 entire Months elapsed since the *Epo-cha*; wherefore thirteen times thirty or 390 Days divided by 64, gives the Quotient six Days, to be deducted out of 390. To the residue 384 I add 196, and the Sum 580 are the Days elapsed since the first of *January*, anno ante Christum 432.

580.	
365,	1 Year.
212,	July compl.
3,	Days in August.
580.	

Whence it appears, that the said last Day of *Hecatombæon* was the third Day of *August*, in the Year *ante Christum* 431, on which Day was celebrated the New Moon, or Beginning of the next Month, by the token that the Sun that Day was very near totally eclips'd, by the Testimony of *Thucydides* (*Lib. II.*) who was an Eye-Witness.

AGAIN, let it be requir'd to find what Day of the *Julian Year* does answer to the fifteenth Day of the Month *Sciophorion*, in the twelfth Year of the third Period of the Cycle of *Meton*.

OF the eleven Years elaps'd since the beginning of the Period, 'tis plain there are four Years that have thirteen Months, that is, those eleven Years consisted of 136 Months; to which adding the eleven Months which are elaps'd of the twelfth Year, there will be 147 Months; which with fifteen Days of the Month current will make 4425 Days. Of these the 64th Part is 69, for the Number of *exemptile* Days. The Remainder 4356 is the true Number of Days, since the beginning of that Period. Add thereto two entire Periods, or twice 6940 Days, and also the Number 196, and the Sum 18432 is the Number of Days from the beginning of *January anno ante*

ante Christum 432. These reduc'd after the following manner,

4356	18432.		
6940			
6940	14610	40	432
196	2922	8	50
	730	2	
18432	151	50 Years. 382	
	19	May complete.	
		Days in June.	
	18432.		

are found to make fifty *Julian Years*, and 170 Days. Hence it appears, that the said 15th of *Sciophorion* in that Year, was *June* the 19th *anno ante Christum* 382, on which Day *Ptolemy* has recorded one of the ancient Eclipses of the Moon to have been observ'd, as may be seen in *Cap. 2. Lib. IV. of the Almagest*. So that here the Full Moon falls just in the middle of the Month, as it ought to do.

AND this *Calculus* will be found sufficiently conformable to Mr. *Dodwell's* Tables of the Cycle of *Meton*, to be found in *Pag. 716, & seq.* excepting that he, by making each 63d Day *emptile* instead of the 64th, has left the last four Months of the nineteenth Year all *Pleni*, whereas they should have been alternately *Pleni* and *Cavi*. This Fault, 'tis hoped, the candid Reader will please to excuse in an Author, who has in so many Respects obliged the Learned World with his Labours, and more especially, since it may truly be said to be *Opere in longo*.

IN this Form the *Greek* Calendar continued in civil Use for above One hundred Years; when it being perceived that *Meton* had taken his *Solar* Year too long, by about the 76th Part of a Day, 'tis not unlikely that, by the Authority of *Alexander the Great* (who was then in all his Glory) the Emendation thereof made by *Calippus* might be establish'd all over his Empire. But here, again, I must take Leave to dissent from our Author, who makes this Cycle of *Calippus* to begin with *July* 1st, *anno ante Christum* 330; for that Year the mean New Moon fell out on the 28th of *June* about Noon, and the true Conjunction of the Sun and Moon about nine Hours sooner; so that the Night following the 28th Day, together with the 29th of *June*, ought to make up the first Day of the Cycle. And 'tis remarkable, that this New Moon fell precisely on the Day, and very near the Hour, of the Sun's being on the Tropical Point, for which Reason 'tis highly probable *Calippus* chose this *Epocha* to begin from: the Design of the Calendar being to place the New Moons at the beginning of each Month; and the Year beginning as near as might be to the Summer *Solstice*. Nor is this barely Conjecture, for from this Supposition we reconcile, without any Force, the Times of the four Astronomical Observations, recorded by *Ptolemy*, as made by *Timocharis* at *Alexandria*, in the first Period of *Calippus*, and which are the only four wherein the Days of the *Attick* Months are mentioned. By them it appears that in the 36th Year of the first Period of this Cycle, the 25th Day of the Month *Posideon*, was *anno ante Christum*

stum 295, Decemb. 21^o mane. That in the same Year the 15th Day of *Elaphebolion* was *anno ante Christum* 294, March 9. at Night. That in the 47th Year of the same first Period the eighth Day of *Antbesterion* answer'd to the 29th of *January* at Night, in the Year *ante Christum* 283. And lastly, that in the 48th Year of the Period, the 25th Day of *Pyanepsion*, Πυανεψιώνος ἡ Φθινοῦτος, was the same with *Novemb. 9^o mane*, in the same Year 283.

LET US now, as in the *Cycle of Meton*, lay down the Rule to calculate the corresponding Times in the *Julian Account* from the given Day and Year of this *Cycle of Calippus*, which will sufficiently verify all we have advanc'd about it, if it be found to agree with these four Examples.

I SAY then, that the Interval between the 28th of *June*, in the Year *ante Christum* 330, and the beginning of *January anno* 328, (which was the first after *Bissextile*) is 552 Days, to be subtracted constantly from the Days elaps'd since the beginning of the *Cycle*; the Number of which will be obtain'd after the same manner as we found the Number of Days in the *Cycle of Meton*, that is, allowing seven *Menses Embolimi* in every Period of nineteen Years, in the same Order as is before describ'd, (*viz.* in the third, fifth, and eighth; eleventh, thirteenth, sixteenth, and last Years, each Month being of thirty Days) and dividing the whole Sum by 64, the Quotient will give us the *exemptile Days* to be deducted, together with the constant Number 552, from the Dividend. The Remainder will be the Number of

of Days lapsed since the beginning of *January anno 328 ante Christum*; whence the Year and Day of the Month of the *Julian* Style will be readily discovered as before.

LET us now, for Example, try how well this Rule will represent the four Dates recorded by *Ptolemy*: and first let it be proposed to find what Day of the *Julian* Account answers to the 25th Day of *Posideon*, in the 36th Year of the first Period of this Cycle.

THERE are elapsed 35 complete Years having 13 *Menses Embolimi*, with five Months of the current Year, and 25 Days; that is, 438 Months and 25 Days, or 13165 Days. This divided by 64 gives the Quote 205. Subtract 205 and 552, or 757, from 13165, the remainder 12408 is the Number of Days elapsed from the beginning of *January anno ante Christum 328*. Wherefore

12408			
7305	20	}	328
4383	12		33
365	1		295
334	November complete.		
21	December current.		
12408.			

So that the 21st Day of *December, anno ante Christum 295*, is the Day we seek, and on which the Moon applyed to the fore-head of the *Scorpion*, as was then observed by *Timocharis*.

Secondly. WHAT Day of the *Julian* Year answereth to the 15th of the ninth Month *Elaphebolion*, in the same 36th Year of the first Period?

THE Interval between this and the former is two Months and twenty Days, or eighty Days, and therefore 13245 Days are elapsed from the *Epocha*; and dividing by 64, the *exemptile* Days are 206, which with 552 are to be substracted from the said Number.

$ \begin{array}{r} 64) 13245 \quad (206 \\ \hline 206 \\ 552 \\ \hline 758 \\ \hline 12487 \text{ Rem. Days.} \end{array} $	$ \begin{array}{r} 12487 \\ \hline 7305 \quad 20 \\ 4383 \quad 12 \quad \left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{l} 7305 \\ 4383 \end{array}} \right\} 34 \text{ compl.} \\ 730 \quad 2 \quad \left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{l} 7305 \\ 4383 \\ 730 \end{array}} \right\} 294 \\ 59 \text{ Febr. compl.} \\ 10 \text{ March.} \\ \hline 12487. \end{array} $
--	--

Whence it appears that the Day we seek was *March* 10, 34 Years after the beginning of *January*, *anno ante Christum* 328, that is *anno* 294. And in the Night preceding this Day, the Moon applied to *Spica Virginis*, as was observed by *Timocharis*, and as is proved from exact Astronomical Computation.

Thirdly. WHAT Day was the eighth of the eighth Month *Anthesterion* in the 47th Year of the same first Period?

THE complete 46 Years contain 17 *Menses Embolimi*, which with seven complete Months make 576 Months: the which, adding the eight Days of the current Month, make 17288 Days since the *Epocha*,

64) 17288 (270	16466	
<u>270</u>	14610 40}	328
552	1461 4}	45
<u>822</u>	365 1}	283
	30 Jan.	
16466 Rem.	16466.	

So that *January* the 30th, *anno ante Christum* 283, was the Day when the Moon was observed to apply to the *Pleiades*; and the same is found true, by computing the true Place of the Moon at that time. From these two last is evident what Mr. *Dodwell* has asserted, that the *Attick* Day was supposed to begin always at Sun-set, or about six Hours sooner than the *Julian* Day beginning with Mid-night.

Lastly. LET us enquire what Day the 25th (not 26th) of *Pyanepsion*, in the 48th Year of the same Period, was to be reckoned in the *Julian* Account.

THERE are elapsed 47 Years complete, whereof 17 were of 13 Months, which with four Months complete make 585 Months: To these add the 25 Days of the current Month, and the whole will be 17575 Days.

64) 17575 (274	16749	
<u>274</u>	14610 40}	328
552	1461 4}	45
<u>826</u>	365 1}	283
	304 Octob. compl.	
16749.	9 Novemb.	
	16749.	
	S f 2	Where

Wherefore the ninth of *November anno ante Christum* 283, was the same Day with the 25th of *Py-anepfion* in that Year, when the Moon arising at *Alexandria* was found in Conjunction with *Spica Virginis*, the which is verified by our Astronomical Tables, placing the Moon in that Position at the same Hour.

AND these are all the Dates we have to compare withall, that carry with them the Marks of Certainty; but as there is a perfect Agreement in them all, we cannot doubt but the Rule here given is in all other Cases to be relied on. In what Year or Month the odd *exemptile* Day was abated, is by no Means evident, but by what appears it may reasonably be supposed to have been at the End of each Period: for 28200 Days, or 940 Months, divided by 64, give $440\frac{2}{3}$ fere for the Quotient, instead of 441 Days; which shews that even at the end of the Period, the last *exemptile* Day is not yet complete; but being somewhere to be deducted, it may with least Inconvenience be done by leaving out the last Day of the last Month, which would likewise hinder three *Menses Pleni* to succeed one another. And this Period of *Calippus* answering exactly to 76 *Julian* Years, there is no need to have recourse to the first *Epocha*; but the second Period began with the Solstice, *June 28, anno ante Christum* 254, and the third on the same Day, *anno ante Christum* 178, &c.

SUBSEQUENT to this of *Calippus*, was that of the *Seleucidae* or *Syro-Macedonians*, by *Ptolemy* called

ed κατὰ Χαλδαίους. In this Account the *Syntaxis* has conserved no more than three Dates, which, though not sufficient to clear up the entire Constitution of the Calendar, do yet fully evince that the *Epocha* thereof was about 19 Years, or one Period of *Meton*, later than that of *Calippus*, and that the Years were *Luni-Solar*, intercalated after the *Attick* manner.

FOR by comparing the Sun's Place given us by *Ptolemy* with that deduced from his Tables, we are assured, that in the 67th Year κατὰ Χαλδαίους, the fifth Day of the *Macedonian* Month *Apollæus* was answer'd by *November 19^o mane*, anno ante Christum 245 current. That in the 75th Year of the same Account, the 14th Day of the Month *Dius* was the same with *October 30^o mane*, ante Christum 237. And lastly, That in the 82d Year, the fifth of the Month *Xanthicus* was *March* the first *Vesperi*, in the 229th Year of the *Julian* Account, before Christ.

ADD 19 Years to the Years current in these three Examples, and we shall have the 86th, 94th, and 101st Years from the *Epocha* of the Period of *Calippus*, or the 10th, 18th, and 25th Years current of his second Period. Let the *Attick* Months be collated with the *Macedonian* in the following Order, as corresponding to each other.

	Attick.	Macedonian.	Jewish.
1	Hecatombæon	to Panemus,	Tamuz,
2	Metageitnion	Lous,	Ab,
3	Boëdromion	Gorpiæus,	Elul,
4	Maimacterion	Hyperberetæus,	Tisri,
5	Pyanepsion	Dius,	Marchesvan,
6	Posideon	Apellæus,	Kisleu,
7	Gemalion	Audunæus,	Thebet,
8	Anthesterion	Peritius,	Sebat,
9	Elaphebolion	Dystrus,	Adar,
10	Munychion	Xanthicus,	Nisan,
11	Thargaleon	Artemisius,	Ijar,
12	Scirophorion	Dasius.	Sivan.

Let it be required what Day answers to the fifth Day of *Apellæus* or *Posideon*, in the 10th or 86th Year of the Cycle of *Calippus*. Nine complete Years, with three intercalary Months and five complete Months of the current Year, are 116 Months. These with five Days of the current Month make 3485 Days.

$$\begin{array}{r}
 64) 3485 \text{ (54 exempt. } 2879 \\
 \hline
 54 \\
 552 \\
 \hline
 606 \\
 \hline
 2879
 \end{array}
 \qquad
 \begin{array}{r}
 2879 \\
 1461 \quad 4 \} \\
 1095 \quad 3 \} 7 \\
 305 \text{ Oct. compl. Biss. } 328 \\
 18 \text{ Nov. current.} \\
 \hline
 245
 \end{array}
 \qquad
 \begin{array}{r}
 76 \\
 7 \\
 \hline
 83 \\
 328 \\
 \hline
 245
 \end{array}$$

Hence it appears that the fifth Day of *Posideon* is answered by the 18th Day of *November* current, *anno ante Christum* 245, and that therefore the *Macedonian* Month *Apellæus* was co-incident with

with the *Attick Pofideon*. Nor will the Difference of one Day feem ftrange, fince we know not the precise *Epocha* of this Account.

AGAIN, let us compute what was the 14th Day of the *Attick Pyanepfion*, in the 18th Year of the fecond Period of *Calippus*. Here feventeen complete Years, with fix *Menfes Embolimi* and four complete Months of the current Year are 214 Months, which with fourteen Days are 6434 Days. Of thefe 100 are *exemptile*,

6334	5782		
552			
	4383	12	
5782	1095	3	
	274	Sept. compl. Biff.	
	30	October	
	5782		
			76
			15
			91
			328
			237 ante Chr.

Wherefore by this Account the 30th Day of *October, anno ante Christum* 237, which was the 14th Day of *Pyanepfion*, was the 14th Day of the Month *Dius*, being the fame Day with that reported by *Ptolemy*.

LET it now be requir'd to find what Day did answer to the 5th Day of the Month *Munychion* or *Xanthicus*, in the 25th Year of the fecond Period of *Calippus*.

THE entire Years elaps'd are 24, in which eight Months are *Embolimi*, and with nine others of the current Year make 305 Months. Thefe, with five Days of the current Month, make 9155, whence

64) 9155 (143 exempt. 8460	76
143	23
552	7305 20 } 23 compl. 99
695	1095 3 } 328
8460	60 Feb. compl. Biss. 8460
	ante Christ. 229

So that *March* 1. current will answer to the sixth Day of the *Attick Munyehion*, in the propos'd Year. And this may suffice to prove the Months of this Account to have been *Lunar*, though there be a Difficulty in this last Observation, of which it may be best to hear Mr. *Dodwell* himself, Page 392, & seqq. for either the Month *Xanthicus* must be the fourth from *Dius*, or the *Menses Embolimi* must be placed in some other Order than in the Period of *Calippus*, according to which there ought to be nine *intercalary* Months in the first 24 Years. Perhaps there may be a Mistake in the Text of *Ptolemy* in this Place, reading *Xanthicus* instead of *Dystrus*, but this is a Matter in which I dare not determine. In this Account are the Dates used by the Author of the Book of *Maccabaies*, which may be reduced to the *Julian* by the foregoing Rule: This same Method being observed by the *Jews* (who were Subjects to *Seleucus* and his Successors) as appears from the many Dates extant in *Josephus*, who makes the *Jewish* and *Macedonian* Calendar agree Month for Month, and Day for Day. There was only this Difference, that the *Jews* began their Year with the *vernal Equinox*, whereas the beginning of the *Macedonian*

Macedonian Year is not fully agreed on. Nor did the *Jews* borrow this Account of Time from the *Greeks*, but used the same sort of *Luni-Solar* Year in all Antiquity, as appears by many Places in the *Holy Scriptures*. And the same is, at this Day, in Use with the *Chinese*. Nor can there be any Fault found with this sort of reckoning, unless it be the Inequality of the Years; for the Period of *Calippus* of 76 *Julian Years*, is, by exact Astronomical Computation, but five Hours and fifty Minutes more than 940 Months; and by so much the nearer to the true Measure of the *Solar Year*, which in 76 Revolutions is 14 Hours short of the *Julian Account*.

THE *Alexandrian Greeks* had yet another Measure of Time equal in Length to the *Julian Year*, which *Ptolemy* calls κατὰ Διονύσιον, and which were reckon'd from the beginning of *Ptolemaeus Philadelphus*, and the Solstice of the Year ante Christum 285. The Months are denominated from the Signs the Sun was in, Κριών, Ταυρών, Διδυμών, &c. and seem to have been alternately of 30 and 31 Days, in the *Leap Year*; and in the common Years, the Month Σκορπιών or Τοξών was only of 30 Days instead of 31: It appears by *Ptolemy*, that these Months began about the 24th or 25th Days of the *Julian* Months; but three of the seven Dates mentioned in the *Syntaxis* being undoubtedly wrong, we are past Hopes of discovering by their Help the Construction of this *Ægyptian Solar Calendar*. For though we might in a great Measure amend the said Faults by Reading (in the seventh Chapter, *Lib. IX.* of the *Almagest*, where they are found) τδρῶνος ἢ ὁ ἑῶος σίλῶων, instead

stead of $\kappa\theta$ ἑῶς σίλων (as Mr. Dodwell has most judiciously conjectured) and likewise $\tau\alpha\upsilon\rho\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma$ α for $\tau\alpha\upsilon\rho\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma$ α , and $\Delta\iota\delta\upsilon\mu\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ζ for ξ , which Numerals in Greek MSS. are frequently mistaken one for the other, yet we have not *Data* sufficient to define and make out what is wanting to reconcile these seven Instances with our *Julian* Account; which was doubtless the Reason why our Author has forbore to give us the *Parapegma* of this Form of Year, as he has done at large for the *Luni-Solar*.

AT the End of this great and excellent Work we find ready cast up large Tables, exhibiting all the *Novilunia* in the first eight Periods of the Cycle of *Meton*, for the Space of 152 Years, with an Exactness more than requisite for Chronological Purposes, *vid. Pag. 716, & seq.* And from *Page 724 to 727*, you have the like Tables for the Cycle of *Calippus*; both which are again repeated in the *Bæotick* Style, who began their Year with the Month *Bucalius* answering to the *Attick Gemalion*, and intercalated the *Menses Embolimi* at the End of the Year. These are found from *Page 785 to 794*. And the same are again adapted to the *Sicilian* and *Corinthian* Account, the Year beginning with the *Attick Boëdromion* by those People called *Panemus*, and their last Month *Carnius* being doubled in the Years that had the *intercalary* Months, as may be seen *Page 814, & seq.*

THE same are again adapted to the *Laconick* Style, beginning from an *Epocha* about eleven Years later than the *Attick*, *Pag. 831, & seqq.* And to the *Chaldaean* or *Syro-Macedonian* Style
of

of the *Seleucida*, which begins from an *Epocha* one Period of *Meton* later than that of the Cycle of *Calippus*, as we have but now proved. Pag. 839, & *seqq.* This latter being shewn to be the same with the Account observed by the *Jews*, (except that they began their Year from a differing Month, and call'd their Months by differing Names) our Author, that nothing might be wanting to complete this Part of his Work, has added a like Table of the Cycle he calls the *Judæo-Macedonian*, Page 843, giving the New Moons therein for one Period of *Calippus*: which Period consisting exactly of 76 *Julian* Years, the New Moons return again in the same Order, upon the same Days of the *Julian* Months, in every subsequent Period.

THE intermediate Pages are fill'd up with Tables, exhibiting the Series of the *Athenian Archontes*, of the *Olympionicæ* and *Pytheonicæ*, and of the *Victors* in the *Isthmian* and *Nemean* Games, assigning to each his proper Year, with *Indices* for the ready finding them by their Names. To be able to succeed in this, seems to require all our Author's Industry and Capacity, and few Men besides himself durst have attempted it.

AND this may suffice for a brief Extract of what concerns the *Greek Cycles*, which the more Curious may find made out at large in the Book itself printed at the Theatre of Oxford, Anno 1701. highly deserving to be read with Attention.

THE *Romans* less curious in Sciences, than in the Art of War and Skill of enlarging their Bounds, were, for a long Time, little better than barbarous as to their Accounts of Chronology. They had

had not so much as one Writer of History of their own, till within 250 Years before *Christ*, when *Fabius Pictor* began, as appears by *Livy*: and as much is expressly declar'd by *Polybius* and *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*. So that by what Cycle they reckon'd their Years before that Time, it would have been hard for any but Mr. *Dodwell* to make a probable Conjecture, and what he proposes has such an Air of Truth, that it may possibly serve the Turn as well.

ABOUT the Time of the first Consulates, he shews, that the *Romans* us'd a *Luni-Solar Cycle* of eight Years, beginning their Year with the Calends of *March*, then call'd *January*, and intercalating each other Year a *Merkedon*, or Number of Days 22 and 23 alternately; so that in each eight Years they intercalated 90 Days, which does exactly agree with the ancient *Greek Octaeterical Cycle*, and is by our Author suppos'd to have been taught by *Pythagoras*, or his Followers. The Intercalation they made to begin from the 23d of *February*, borrowing the Remainder of that Month to make up with the *Merkedon* of 22 or 23 Days a complete Month, at the End of the Year. And 'tis not unlikely, but the Months of this Account were alternately 29 and 30 Days, as in the old *Greek Cycles* before *Meton*. What the Word *Merkedon* means, is not easy to conjecture; nor do I find Mr. *Dodwell* any where to undertake its Etymology: Perhaps these additional Days were apply'd to some Fairs, or more solemn Markets, and might therefore, à dandis mercibus, be styl'd *Mercedonii*.

ABOUT

ABOUT the Year before *Christ* 450, by Authority of the *Decemviri*, the Month of *March* was call'd by its proper Name, which before had the Name of *January*; and *January* became the last Month but one; the Order of them being then settled as it remains at this Day.

MR. *Dodwell*, *Pag.* 862. has given us a Cycle of 24 Years adapted to this Account, viz. *ab anno Urbis Cond. Varr. 316. ad annum 340.* that is, *ab anno ante Christum 438 to 414*, collating the first Day of each Month in this Account with the corresponding Day of the *Julian Year* extended backwards. But it is confess'd by himself, that these his Tables do often differ from the Dates to be found in the ancient Authors, as he conceives for two Principal Causes; first, because many Times the *Merkedons* were either omitted or else intercalated unduly, contrary to the Laws of the Cycle, (of which *Pag.* 863. he gives not a few remarkable Instances) or else because of the Custom the *Romans* had, sometimes to add, and at other Times leave out Days, in their Calendar, upon some superstitious Accounts in their Religion. So that after all, he seems rather, by his admirably Learned tenth Dissertation, to have demonstrated the Impossibility of reconciling these uncertain Irregularities, than to have laid down a standing Rule for discovering the precise Times of Actions and Events, recorded after so loose and inaccurate a manner.

TO prevent the ill Effects of this for the future, *Julius Cæsar* having at *Alexandria* been instructed in the Conveniencies and Exactness of the *Egyptian Solar Year*, brought with him thence
the

the Philosopher *Sofigenes*, who being well acquainted with the Heavenly Motions, prepar'd that Calendar which is still in use among us, and which by *Cæsar's* Authority was establish'd in the *Roman* World, beginning with the Calends of *January*, *anno ante Christum* 45. This all the Nations subject to *Rome* soon after follow'd, retaining only the former Names of their Months, which they made to correspond, Month to Month, and Day to Day, with those of their Masters.

Thus Sir, in Obedience to your Commands, I have endeavour'd to give the *English* Reader a Taste of the Contents of the excellent Book you recommended to my Perusal, which I may truly call the most elaborate of all our Author's Pieces, and which seems to have been the Work of the greatest Part of his Life. You will please to accept of my Endeavour to do him Justice in this small Compass, in which 'twas wholly impossible to touch upon that great Variety of Argument whereby he supports his Opinions. All I could do was to represent the Doctrine itself, as establish'd by him, and to adapt it to the use of those that read ancient History: And I shall think myself happy, if in so doing I have the good Fortune to answer your Expectation; being

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